REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 01735 9404

GENEALOGY
929.102
M56MMB
1879,
JAN-APR

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

http://archive.org/details/methodistquarter6143meth_0

5

70

METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

61
4. Series
31

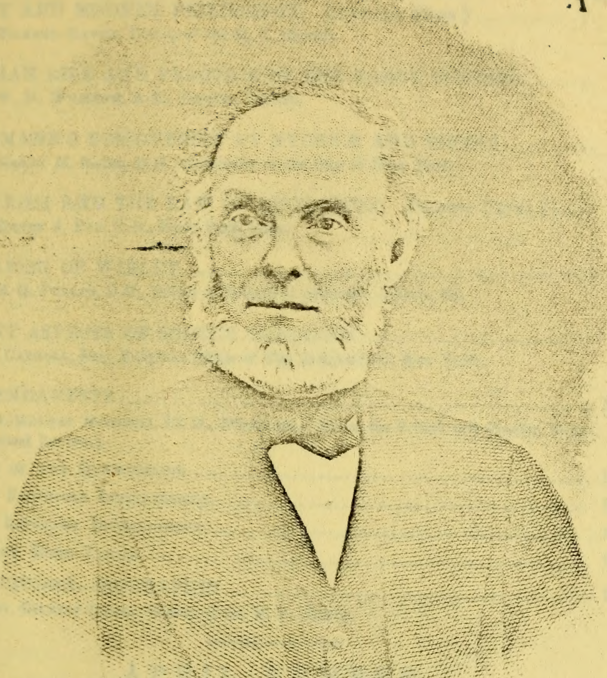
1879.

VOLUME LXI.—FOURTH SERIES—VOLUME XXXI.

D. D. WHEDON, LL.D., EDITOR.

NEW YORK:
PHILLIPS & HUNT.
CINCINNATI:
HITCHCOCK & WALDEN.
1879.

X 706214



[illegible]

D. D. Whedon

Engraved for the Methodist Quarterly Review

CONTENTS OF VOLUME LXI.—1879.

JANUARY NUMBER.

Page

WESLEY AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY. [Article First.] 5
Rev. Gilbert Haven, Bishop of the M. E. Church.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND PRACTICE IN THE EARLY CHURCH......... 20
Rev. W. H. Withrow, A.M., Toronto, Canada.

SCHLIEMANN'S DISCOVERIES AT MYCENÆ AND TIRYNS............ 35
Prof. Henry M. Baird, D.D., University of the City of New York.

PLAGIARISM AND THE LAW OF QUOTATION. [Second Paper.] 62
Rev. Henry J. Fox, D.D., Hyde Park, Mass.

THE PARISH OF WESLEY.. 77
Rev. E. Q. Fuller, D.D., Editor of Methodist Advocate, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESENT ASPECTS OF SCOTCH THEOLOGY.......................... 94
H. K. Carroll, Esq., Religious Editor of The Independent, New York.

THE ZENDAVESTA.. 114
Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D., Edinburgh. (From the British and Foreign Evangelical Review.)

Synopsis of the Quarterlies.. 134

Foreign Religious Intelligence.. 150

Foreign Literary Intelligence.. 154

Quarterly Book-Table.. 155

D. D. WHEDON—BIOGRAPHIC.. 199
By Rev. Gilbert Haven, Bishop of the M. E. Church.

APRIL NUMBER.

WESLEY AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY. [Article Second.]............. 205
Rev. Gilbert Haven, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO THEISM.. 224
Rev. Borden P. Bowne, Professor in Boston University, Boston, Mass.

POPULAR ASTRONOMY 247
Rev. J. T. Crane, D.D., Port Jervis, N. Y.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.. 274
S. G. Arnold, Esq., Washington, D. C.

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDING ELDERS.............................. 300
Rev. George Prentice, Professor in Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

METHODISM AND HERESY... 334
Rev. J. Pullman, A.M., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Synopsis of the Quarterlies... 357

Foreign Religious Intelligence.. 374

Foreign Literary Intelligence.. 378

Quarterly Book-Table.. 379

JULY NUMBER.

Page
ARMINIANISM AND ARMINIUS 405
Editor.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN CHINA 426
Rev. Dr. D. P. Kidder, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

SANCTIFICATION 449
Rev. L. C. Matlack, Chesapeake City, Md.

RELATIONS OF POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY 460
Rev. Bostwick Hawley, D.D., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

CESNOLA'S CYPRUS AND CYPRIOTE ART 476
Henry M. Baird, D.D., Professor in the University of the City of New York.

A PLEA FOR PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE 501
Prof. William Wells, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

THE REVISED METHODIST HYMNAL 522
Rev. Richard Wheatley, D.D., West Point, N. Y.

WHEN WAS HEROD MADE KING OF JUDEA? 546
Rev. W. S. Hooper, Winchester, Ill.

Synopsis of the Quarterlies 556

Foreign Religious Intelligence 574

Foreign Literary Intelligence 577

Quarterly Book-Table 579

OCTOBER NUMBER.

DÖLLINGER 605
Rev. Prof. Prentice, D.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

OUR COLLEGES 626
Rev. Prof. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

THE DEITY AND THE PHYSICAL FORCES 642
S. D. Hillman, Ph.D., State Normal School, Shippensburgh, Pa.

THE FRENCH REFORMED CHURCH: ITS SYNOD OF 1872, AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS 660
Rev. E. B. Otheman, A.M., Chelsea, Mass.

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDING ELDERS 685
Rev. Joseph Cummings, D.D., LL.D., Malden, Mass.

THE NEGRO EXODUS 722
Rev. J. C. Hartzell, D.D., Editor South-western Christian Advocate, New Orleans.

Synopsis of the Quarterlies 743

Foreign Religious Intelligence 765

Foreign Literary Intelligence 770

Quarterly Book-Table 771

REV. REUBEN NELSON, D.D 796
Rev. W. L. Harris, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1879.

ART. I.—WESLEY AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

[ARTICLE FIRST.]

A Biographical History of Philosophy. By G. H. LEWES. Two volumes. London.
History of Moral Science. By ROBERT BLAKEY. Two volumes. London.
Wesley and Methodism. By ISAAC TAYLOR.
England in the Eighteenth Century. By W. E. H. LECKEY. Two volumes. New York: Appletons.
Short History of the English People. By J. R. GREEN. New York: Harper & Bros.
Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography. By SIR JAMES STEPHEN. Two vols. London.
Studies in Poetry and Philosophy. By J. C. SHAIRP. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, & Co.
The North British Review. Article, S. T. Coleridge. December, 1865.
Life of John Locke. Two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.
Lives of John Wesley. By WATSON, TYERMAN, RIGG, STEVENS, etc.

MANY are the modes of contemplating a great man in his relations to his age and the ages. Luther was as mighty in his effect on German literature as on German religion, on government as on ecclesiasticism. His influence on all tongues and times is equally noticeable and unsearchable. Columbus, opening a new world, is himself the vital center of innumerable influences which are just beginning to be. Washington to some minds is only a soldier, to others a surveyor, to others one who couldn't tell a lie, to others the founder of an empire. But Washington, in his influence on nationalities yet unformed, the representative of free and equal government over all the earth, is an unmeasured, an immeasurable, influence.

Wesley has more sides to him than any man of his century,

not excepting Washington; for Wesley's government was both of this world and not of this world. It was a spiritual power that is not to be measured by national lines and political influences. It is a force yet unabated; nay, more and more potent with every increasing year. To estimate that force no essay, no book, no hour, no year of hours, is sufficient. It has already entered every form of human action, molded States, fashioned philosophies, leavened literature, created philanthropies, extirpated iniquities, occupied with its influences every land under the whole heaven. The souls that have been affected by his having been, spiritually and immortally, are already numbered by scores, if not hundreds, of millions; for the spiritual life of a century and a half in Protestant Christendom has been filled with this force. All the agencies for the renewal of society have been touched to their issues by this man. Not a slave has been liberated, not a prisoner relieved, not a barbarism in warfare abolished, not a tract has given light and refreshment to the soul, not a Sunday-school scholar been taught, not a joyous Christian melody been sung, not a Bible been dropped gratuitously into a welcome or unwelcome hand, not a cheap and vivid Christian story been published, not a rumseller or drinker been suppressed, but that it can be traced as directly to John Wesley as the rays in the sky can be traced to the sun.

These are but portions of his influence. He has affected medicine, and law, and politics, and literature. The change of medical treatment from the harsh, crude, cruel course of a century ago is due in no small degree to his common sense applied to the healing of the body. The other departments equally recognize his presence. Does this seem wild? Hear Sir James Stephen on one department of this work, a department already immeasurable in its influence. Speaking of the Clapham Sect, he says: "They were the sons, by natural and spiritual birth, of men who in the earlier days of Methodism had shaken off the lethargy in which, till then, the Churches of England had been entranced, of men by whose agency the great evangelic doctrine of faith, emerging in its primeval splendor, had not only overpowered the contrary heresies, but had, perhaps, obscured some kindred truths. In their one central and all-pervading idea they had found an influence hardly less than magical."

Who was the father of the sires of these sons? He essays to give great glory to Whitefield, and in his "Evangelical Succession" confines his list exclusively to the Whitefieldians. Yet who was the father of Whitefield? Who took that raw and reckless youth, going from his drams to his prayers and from his prayers to his drams—a youth without consistency or constancy, without principle or purpose, without a more hopeful future than Chatterton or Goldsmith—who took him, molded him, made a man and a minister of him, under God, and sent him forth to shake the nations? Wesley. This same eulogist of Whitefield, describing the clownish servitor, full of spasms of piety and profanity, declares, "He became the associate of Charles, and the *disciple* of John Wesley." "These future chiefs of a religious revolution," he calls these Wesleys. As "the disciple of John Wesley," Whitefield always recognizes him as Master. He owed his strength and steadiness to the founder of Methodism. So all of Whitefield's influences, spiritual and other, excepting his one error of doctrine, are thus due, humanly speaking, to John Wesley.

The Clapham Sect had in its lists such men as Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, Lord Teignmouth, the first President of the Bible Society and ruler of India, Sir John Shore, also ruler of India, Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, Brougham, Henry Martyn—every philanthropist, social or religious, of England, a century and less ago. These men affected every realm of thought and duty. They organized every sort of philanthropy. As says Sir James Stephen: "They formed themselves into a confederacy, carefully organized and fearlessly avowed, to send forth into all lands, but, above all, into their own, the two witnesses of the Church, Scripture and tradition—Scripture, to be interpreted by its divine Author to the devout worshiper; tradition, not of doctrinal tests, but of that inextinguishable zeal which, first kindled in the apostolic times, has never since wanted either altars to receive or attendant ministers to feed and propagate the flame."

Well does he add: "Bibles, schools, missionaries, the circulation of evangelical books and the training of evangelical clergymen, the possession of well attended pulpits, war through the press and war in Parliament against every form of injustice which either law or custom sanctioned—such were the

forces by which they hoped to extend the kingdom of light and to resist the tyranny with which the earth was threatened."

Thus he confesses and concludes: "That confederacy which was pent up within the narrow limits of Clapham, which jocose men invidiously called a sect, is now spreading through the habitable globe. The day is not distant when it will assume the form, and be hailed by the glorious title, of the Universal Church."

And all this philanthropic power is thus confessedly traced to John Wesley; for, speaking of the era of Whitefield, he says: "It was at this period that the *Alma Mater* of Laud and Sacheverell was nourishing in her bosom a little band of pupils destined to accomplish a momentous revolution in the national Church; and of this little band John Wesley was the acknowledged leader."

We do not purpose to examine and illustrate the whole sphere of the influence of Wesley. One can see at a glance its vastness. The whole field of organized humanitarianism, of organized spiritual and ecclesiastical and Christian propagandism, is included in this range. Martyn translating the Scriptures into Persian and Hindustani, Judson into Burmese, Morrison into Chinese, Van Dyke into Arabic, Moffat into the South African dialects, are all because Wesley lived and wrought. Every missionary society, Bible, tract, and book society, sprang from his influence. Every Sunday-school book—alas, that it must be said, even in its weakness!—he is compelled to call his child; for he initiated that literature. Every temperance, anti-slavery, anti-tobacco, and woman suffrage society, much as one may dislike to acknowledge it, took its rise in the chambers of the Fellow and Vice-Rector of Lincoln. He first since Paul emancipated woman in the prayer-room and the pulpit. His principles necessitate her complete liberation.

Green says of this movement of Wesley's, that "it changed in a few years the whole temper of English society. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave-trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students." After speaking of Charles Wesley and Whitefield, the same writer adds: "It was John

Wesley who embodied in himself, not this or that side of this vast movement, but the very movement itself." *

These facts are too patent to need discussion. Let us proceed to a more recondite study.

At first glance one might say he did not influence literature and philosophy. The one was too refined, the other too subtle, for his practical, experimental, sociological facultie.s Yet both of these have felt the impress of his presence. His influence upon literature has been marked and marvelous. Thackeray and Dickens, Tennyson and Browning, though they knew it not, George Eliot and Charles Reade, Mrs. Stowe, and every reformatory romancer—even Oliver Wendell Holmes, who strikes at Christ, and yet is indebted to Wesley for the disposition and ability to strike—have another atmosphere blowing through their brain and giving character to their writings than they would have had if John Wesley had never lived. For each of them is a writer touched with reform. By comparing "Dotheboys-hall" with Fielding or Scott, we see the difference at a glance. Scott, though of the later generation, has no relation to these questions; nor Disraeli. Bulwer, a very slight one; his "Coming Race" is almost his only modern novel. Dickens is almost exclusively a reformer; Thackeray, largely so. The first reformatory novel, "The Fool of Quality," Wesley himself adopted into his library. He ~~has~~ been the father of multitudes of such, and has practically overturned that whole realm.

It is, however, in his relation to modern philosophy, as the antagonist of material, as the exponent and starter out of spiritual or transcendental philosophy, that Wesley stands forth in a clearness of light that makes it impossible not to recognize and accept his sovereignty. To set this in sytematic form will be the aim and effort of this article. To do this justly we shall consider the *status* of philosophy when he arose, its theologic forms, and his relations to the same; his escape from it, how it was affected, and what were its revelations in him; his influence subsequently upon this department of thought, direct and indirect.

I. Before we draw near Wesley, and the forces that made him, and that he made, look a little closer at the contest itself.

---

* See also Leckey's "England in the Eighteenth Century."

The two contending systems of philosophy are spiritual and material. They have always wrestled in the human soul since that soul became the slave of its passions and of its body, in falling under the snare of its appetites, the lowest or most outward of all the organs that had been appointed its servants. The apple eat in disobedience of law made the spirit the slave of the grossest of the physical functions.

To justify himself to himself, man has ever since been creating schemes of ontology that make this outward and lowest the inward and highest of all his faculties. He has sought to deduce the inner world from the outer, and to make the outermost the uppermost. Schemes of philosophy and of religion have gained foothold in generations, races, tracts of earth deep-rooted as the hills of whose nature they partake, and ruling widely as the skyey influences, no higher than which do they go.

Against these have arisen the spiritual protests—

> "Which, be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
> Are yet the master light of all our being."

These declarations are not protests so much as higher assertions—gleams of the earlier age, when man stood on his feet and not his head, when he talked with God face to face, as friend talketh with friend. These truths, too, sank deep into the human heart, and flashed forth their energies against the materializing forces of the depraved humanity. The Brahman fought with the Buddhist, Pythagoras and Plato with Zeno and Aristotle, Pharisee with Sadducee, the Greek Christian with the Roman. Adown the ages the conflict ran, and to-day it still goeth on. The earth doth not protect the woman, but riseth against her. Flesh warreth against the spirit, man with God.

The Church has felt this conflict. Mohammed conquered the Eastern Church with his sword, and the Western with his dogma. Fatalism took possession of the Roman Church as the Greek fell in ecclesiastical liberty, and almost in ecclesiastical existence.

The Reformation developed the vitality of the hostile hosts. Luther, the apostle of freedom, was followed almost instantly by Calvin, the apostle of bondage. How much their blood had to do with their philosophic theology, is a question more

easily asked than answered. For the German has always been a lover of liberty; the Frenchman, of law. Perhaps even the Roman bondage of Augustinianism, which Calvin modernized, arose from the Roman stringency of law, that external and potent governmental sense that to this day characterizes the Church which centers its power on the hills of Cæsar, and under the name of Pontifex Maximus.

This conflict passed over to England, and sprang up in the fierce theologic strife that broke the long winter of Roman authority with the oncoming influences of the present summer of grace. Bacon stood at the parting of the ways, but gave no hint as to which he should take. Though experimental in his treatment, he was ideal in his concept. Cranmer was an Erasmian, and Hooker, Latimer and Owen were Calvinists.

Henry More, the first writer on philosophy of any repute in English literature, was a Platonist, an Idealist. He was a graduate of Milton's college—Christ's of Cambridge—and, perhaps, was inspired in his freedom of thought by that master, for he spent one year with him as an undergraduate, More entering in 1631, Milton graduating in 1632. As More became a Fellow of Christ's, Milton must have often met him in his visits to his *Alma Mater*, and held deep and rich communion with a brother spirit of like perceptions with himself.

His influence, however, among those who profess to set forth English philosophy has been very slight. Lewes does not regard him as worthy of mention; and he is not, if Lewes' theory of philosophy is accepted as the real English system. He may yet come to his desert, and take his rank at the head, which he deserves, no less for his position in time, than for his far higher position in thought.

The father of modern English philosophy, or the one usually accredited as such, is Thomas Hobbes. He is undoubtedly the father of English material philosophy. Lewes, in his "History of Philosophy," recognizes him as the first; Robert Blakey, also, in his "History of Moral Science," begins with the name of Hobbes, though nothing could be more immoral than the science of Hobbes.

This displacement of More is after the world fashion. Cain was preferred to Abel; the outward to the inward. More published his first philosophical treatise, a poem, eleven years

before Hobbes issued the "Leviathan." His prose treatises on these themes followed that of Hobbes. They should be revived in this day of the revival of his faith.

Thomas Hobbes was the son of a minister, and is one of many such, down to Holmes and Emerson, who have forgotten their father's house, and turned the weapons wherewith they were trained upon the sacred Source of both their life and culture.

He located all ideas in sensation. "Concerning the thoughts of man," he says, "they are every one a representation or appearance of some quality or other accident of a body without us, which is commonly called an object, which object worketh on the eyes, ears, and other parts of man's body, and by diversity of working produceth diversity of appearance. The original of them all is that which we call sense; for there is no conception in a man's mind which hath not at first totally, or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense. The rest are derived from that original."

This is the purest materialism, and from this is naturally deduced a scheme of religion, if such it can be called, equally material. He, as properly as Stuart Mill, his last and ablest pupil, may well declare that there is no good or evil, except in relation to the person affected; "there being nothing simply and absolutely so; nor any common rule of good and evil to be taken from the nature of the objects themselves, but from the person of man, where there is no commonwealth, or, in the commonwealth, from the person that representeth it, or person, or arbitrator, or judge, whom men, disagreeing, shall by consent set up and make his sentence the rule thereof."

This is precisely Stuart Mill's position in his "Liberty," where every man is a law unto himself absolutely, and is only required not to injure others physically by his own indulgences. The family tie is under no moral restraints. Parents, however, would do well to regard the health of their offspring, but not any nuptial ties. Houses of prostitution or dram-shops should not be forbidden, only riot or other tumult that might disturb neighborhoods, and psalm-singing might do that to such a degree that churches should be suppressed before brothels.

Hobbes was succeeded by Locke, who was the ruler of English philosophy when Wesley arose. His essay on the Human before Hobbes issued the "Leviathan." His prose treatises on those themes followed that of Hobbes. They should be revived in this day of the revival of his faith.

Thomas Hobbes was the son of a minister, and is one of many such, down to Holmes and Emerson, who have forgotten their father's house, and turned the weapons wherewith they were trained upon the sacred source of both their life and culture.

He located all ideas in sensation. "Concerning the thoughts of man," he says, "they are every one a representation or appearance of some quality or other accident of a body without us, which is commonly called an object, which object worketh on the eyes, ears, and other parts of man's body, and by diversity of working produceth diversity of appearance. The original of them all is that which we call sense; for there is no conception in a man's mind which hath not at first totally, or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense. The rest are derived from that original."

This is the purest materialism, and from this is naturally deduced a scheme of religion, if such it can be called, equally material. He, as properly as Stuart Mill, his last and ablest pupil, may well declare that there is no good or evil, except in relation to the person affected; "there being nothing simply and absolutely so; nor any common rule of good and evil to be taken from the nature of the objects themselves, but from the person of man, where there is no commonwealth, or, in the commonwealth, from the person that representeth it, or person, or arbitrator, or judge, whom men, disagreeing, shall by consent set up and make his sentence the rule thereof."

This is precisely Stuart Mill's position in his "Liberty," where every man is a law unto himself absolutely, and is only required not to injure others physically by his own indulgences. The family tie is under no moral restraints. Parents, however, would do well to regard the health of their offspring, but not any nuptial ties. Houses of prostitution or dram shops should not be forbidden, only riot or other tumult that might disturb neighborhoods, and psalm-singing might do that to such a degree that churches should be suppressed before brothels.

Hobbes was succeeded by Locke, who was the ruler of English philosophy when Wesley arose. His essay on the Human

Understanding was published in 1690. Hobbes published his Leviathan in 1651. Hobbes was sixty-three years old when his great work appeared, Locke fifty-eight when his was published. He sought to branch the river of Hobbes' thoughts, rather than to discover a new fountain higher up. Hobbes was to him *sacræ fontis caput*, not Plato, nor Christ. He attributed all sensation to outward objects, but discerned also a faculty that could combine these under new forms that had in themselves seemingly no relation to external things. This faculty he called Reflection. But he does not deny that all the ideas derived from Reflection came originally from Sensation, and that but for Sensation there would be no Reflection; so that he is usually classed in the category of materialists, and justly, especially as he gives the original, and, therefore, the highest, place to Sensation.

The Life of Locke, lately published, acknowledges his relation to Hobbes in his essay, as well as its materialistic character. It shows that when in college he was attracted to Descartes, who was then, first in modern philosophy, advocating the doctrine of "innate ideas." Locke wavered between the magnets of Hobbes and Descartes, but settled at last on the, to him, stronger attraction of the older and the English philosopher. His biographer quotes from a commonplace-book of his, dated 1761, nearly twenty years before his work was published, in which he says, "I imagine that all knowledge is founded on and ultimately derives itself from sense, or something analogous to it, and may be called sensation." He also adds that "long before 1671, from the time when as an Oxford undergraduate he began to study Descartes, it is clear that he had thought much *de intellectu humano*, and had gradually arrived at very distinct opinions of his own, altogether opposed to the doctrine of innate ideas which Descartes had reinforced with so many new and powerful arguments."* He also acknowledges Locke's indebtedness to Hobbes, of whom "he had become a diligent and wise student," from whose writings he quotes to show how closely Locke follows him, though he sought to separate himself from Hobbes' "atheism, which was always revolting to him."† But he could not

---

* "Life of John Locke," vol. ii, p. 89. Harpers' edition.

† *Ibid*, p. 90.

emancipate himself from this atheism unless he first liberated himself from its philosophy, and that he would not do. It is curious to observe that this biographer, who commends Locke and Hobbes, also puts James Mill in the same category, (and thus John Stuart Mill,) and puts him as claiming, after the fashion of all materialists and skeptics, the highest names of reason and faith. He says that that which Hobbes develops from his "bald and bold theory of sensation," a theory of imagination, or "remains of past sense," James Mills calls ideation, that is, an imagination or ideality, which is only a decaying or vanishing sensation, the decaying part being called by him Memory. How different Descartes' definition of memory: "The pores of the brain, through which the spirits before took their entrance, are more easily opened to the spirits which demand re-entrance, so that, finding those pores, they make their way sooner through them than through others." Fanciful, but less false than Hobbes and Mill's complete annihilation of soul and spirit. In the same style of his father's appropriating "ideation" to a material memory, John Stuart Mill in his autobiography claims to be a Platonist.

This indebtedness to Hobbes has one peculiar variation. His work was encouraged, and a syllabus of it first published, by Le Clerc, the editor of the Remonstrants' magazine, *Bibliotheque Universelle,* the first religious magazine ever published. This was the organ of the Arminians of Holland. Locke and they were led together by their common views on toleration, and not by any especial sympathy in philosophy. Their relations were curious, since he who first introduced Locke to the philosophic world was the disciple of Arminius, while he who did more than all others to displace Locke from the philosophic throne was also an acceptor of the same teacher, and honored him by giving his name to his own theological monthly, the "Arminian Magazine."

Hobbes carried his ideas of government into his religion, and though he never formally denied Christianity, but the rather affirmed it, he still put such fatalism and sensuousism into it as denied its spiritual origin and real authority. Locke plead for toleration, and avowed himself a Christian, but refused to claim for Christianity the supreme and all-authoritative seat.

These were the philosophers who ruled England when John Wesley, a youth of nineteen, went from Charter House to Oxford. Locke had then been dead eighteen years, he having died on October 28 of the year (1704) after Wesley was born, (June 17, 1703.) They were thus sixteen months on the earth together.

Berkeley had put forth his treatise, (1709,) which carried Locke yet one step farther back; for as Locke had declared that sensation was nothing, so Berkeley declared that the substance from which they drew their sensation was naught. "The only thing whose existence I deny is that which philosophers call matter, or corporeal substance." Still he argued that he did not deny the existence of things seen, but that they existed only in the seeing. Such super-Hobbesism could not affect weightily the public thought. It still clung with British tenacity to Locke, as its best interpreter. Until long after Wesley left college Locke reigned alone.

Nor was his first real successor of a different school. Hume, born eight years after Wesley, (1711,) sprang early into the front rank of metaphysicians. At twenty-eight his first treatise, that on Human Nature, appeared. Wesley that same year was founding his Church in London, and framing into reality his own views of metaphysics and theology. In 1741 Hume's first essays appeared, and with their baneful influence, purely material, commenced their career with that of their great counterpart. Voltaire and Wesley are contrasted by Southey. Much more truly were Hume and Wesley the antagonists who fought all over England, and have since fought all over the world for the soul of man. Hume puts his philosophy into religion, Wesley his religion into philosophy. Ingersoll, a pupil of Hume, is striking at experimental Faith, the child of Wesley. Faith and Reason struggle for the mastership, but Faith springs from the higher reason, and shall conquer.

II. A true exhibit of the *status* of that age, in its philosophic aspects, requires a glimpse also of its theologic conditions.

Much has been written on the decay of religion at the coming in of Methodism. Not sufficiently has the cause of that decay been noted. It has been charged to worldliness. It should be charged to fatalism and materialism. It was the dogma of fatalism and sensuousism that possessed the school

which also possessed and paralyzed the Church. Locke had followed Hobbes in denying the supremacy of moral standards, high and immutable. "I think," he says, "it will be hard to instance any one moral rule which can pretend to so general and ready an assent as '*What is, is*,' or to so manifest a truth as this, that 'It is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be;' whereby it is evident that they are farther removed from a title to be innate, and the doubt of their being native impressions on the mind is stronger against these moral principles than the other." He seeks to avoid belittling them by adding: "Not that it brings their truth at all in question. They are equally true, though not equally evident." But it is not far to go to lop off this excrescence, and to affirm on his postulate of the inferiority of moral ideas, the dogma of Hobbes, that good and evil exist only in the feeling of the recipient, like tobacco and tomatoes, which one esteems good, and another evil.

The theology had gone down to the same level. There had been resistance, but it had not been effectual. The devout men were Calvinists, and, therefore, fatalists. The nondevout were philosophers of the materialistic, or popular school of Hobbes and Locke, and, therefore, also fatalists. John Owen and John Howe, the great lights of the Cromwellian age, were the highest type of fatalists. And when persecution arose, and penury and martyrdom followed, their followers clung the closer to their ruling dogma. As persecution abated and the floods of ungodly men that had made them afraid dried up, the Church lapsed into the arms of this most powerless of stimulants. Baxter and Watts, and Henry and Doddridge, good men and faithful, of the preceding and contemporaneous age, were filled with this heresy, while the prelates and inferior clergy of the Established Church were possessed with the same death in the popular philosophy.

III. How Wesley wrestled with and overcame this false philosophy has never been told. His biographers give but little light on his earlier studies at Oxford, Tyerman telling even less than Southey. This is to be regretted. Students of his life, disciples of his faith, are anxious to know how he wrestled himself out of the ruling philosophy and theology into that freer and higher type with which his name is identified. That

he broke from it early one instance shows. He revolted from predestination when in college, and his mother confirmed him in his detestation of it. "The doctrine was shocking," she said, "and ought utterly to be abhorred." This was written to him, in answer to his objections, when he was but twenty-two years old. Her father being a Puritan minister, this revolt is the more noticeable. Perhaps she thought wiser than she was taught, in this as in so many other directions. Soon after, John Wesley became Fellow of Lincoln, and pursued his studies in logic, metaphysics, and theology. The metaphysics were necessarily Locke's; the theology was equally unspiritual and hard-bound—the God of Hobbes then ruling soul and body, time and eternity—Church and State, with equal authority and with equal lack of goodness or reason. Wesley presided over debates every day in the week, on literature, philosophy, and theology, and continued these exercises, more or less regularly, for six years. This position gave him great power of discrimination, perhaps greater than of discernment. Yet he could not be a dialectician for so long a time without investigation, and possibly, and probably, the basis was laid in these years for his departure from the field of fatalism and materialism in philosophy and doctrine.

He might have taught, he must have read, Descartes, and thus began to differ with his mighty predecessor, who was a Master of Oxford, who had even been a student of his own college, Christ Church, where he had long resided as tutor. In Locke's day, his biographer tells us, "Descartes' new books began to be read." Wesley may have accepted what Locke had rejected, and been a teacher of "innate ideas" over against Locke and Hobbes' materialistic sensationalism. How desirable is information on this point. Is it impossible to obtain it? He might have seen thus early what Mr. Lewes declares to be the fact, that "Skepticism, gulf-like, yawns as the terminal road of all consistent metaphysics."* It surely does of all materialistic and utilitarian metaphysics, which proves that they are not metaphysics nor utilitarian, but spurious counterfeits of spiritual, true, divine philosophy.

Professor Shairp declares of Wesley and his age: "How

---

* Lewes' "History of Philosophy," p. 478.

entirely the mechanical philosophy had saturated that age may be seen from the fact that Wesley, the leader of the great spiritual counter-movement of the last century, the preacher of divine realities to a generation fast bound in sense, yet in the opening of his sermon on faith indorses the sensational theory, and declares that to man in his natural condition sense is the only inlet to knowledge." *

Isaac Taylor, who more than any other writer discerned the spiritual and philosophic work of Wesley, though his Scotch leanings prevented complete discernment, says: "He led this revolution by appealing to principles that have their root in philosophy." Such praise could never be ascribed to materialism; nay, could never be ascribed to fatalism, much as it might be connected with faith. It was the materialism in Locke and Hobbes, and all the expounders of his own time, against which he made vigorous warfare. And he made this warfare, not so much by philosophic forms and phrases, as by a philosophic spirit and principle that gave birth to forms and phrases.

We are led to ask, Did Mr. Wesley find this path by his own faculties, by grace, by necessities of his work, or from schools? Mr. Isaac Taylor attributes it to his own being. Erring, as a Calvinist and pupil of the Scotch philosophy might, concerning the true basis of philosophy, he still assigned to Wesley the original faculty out of which true philosophy springs—the intuitions. He says: "Not one of the founders of Methodism was gifted with the philosophic faculty—the abstractive and analytic power. More than one was a shrewd and exact logician, but none a master of the higher reason." But he denies himself when he adds: "Wesley's *instinct* of belief, *which was a prominent characteristic* of his mind, met with no counteractive force in its structure," though, he adds, this instinct "was not at all of the philosophic cast." Again, in spite of these declarations that he was not master of the higher reason, he adds: "He reasoned more than he thought. Might we not say that it (the Jeffry ghost) so laid open his faculty of belief that the right of way for the supernatural was opened through his mind." And again: "Wesley was thus

---

* "S. T. Coleridge," in the "North British Review," December, 1865. The analysis of that age in this article is worthy of attention.

almost intuitively master of arts," though he must belittlingly add, "or of all but the highest, to which the predominance of secondary faculties bars the way." Again he compliments him with the "energy of the intuitive reason," and again, unphilosophically, declares this "precludes the philosophic faculty." He still is blinded to the true philosophic faculty, while he happily recognizes Wesley's faculty when he declares he possessed "the irresistible force, or, one might say, the galvanic instantaneousness, of the intuitions," though, with his old falseness of view, he adds that "this forbids and excludes the exercise of the abstractive and analytic power."

He, however, concedes a point bearing on our exposition of the current philosophies of his age, when he says: "At the time when Wesley was acting as moderator in the disputations at Lincoln College, there was no philosophy abroad in the world—there was no thinking—that was not atheistical in its tone and tendency." Hear that, ye materialistic and empirical schools! This declaration disagrees with his previous statement, that philosophy consists in abstraction and analysis; for these qualities were certainly abroad in the world when Wesley began to teach.

We shall accept Mr. Taylor's concessions, and show that from them John Wesley was one whom Wordsworth truly describes:—

"That best philosopher, who yet dost keep
His heritage, the eye amongst the blind,
That, deaf and silent, read'st the eternal deep,
Haunted forever by the eternal Mind.
Mighty prophet! seer blest!
On whom those truths do rest
Which we are toiling all our lives to find."

He had the basis in his nature of the real, spiritual philosophy, Platonic and Coleridgian—intuitive, whose "irresistible force, galvanic instantaneousness," is the life and soul of real philosophy. If "he reasoned more than he thought," he had the higher reason, which Taylor confusedly denies him. He grasped it, held it, enjoyed it, preached it, and with it made steadfast and successful warfare against all false forms of fatalism and naturalism, in school, and Church, and society.

That was the philosophy he initiated successfully against its antagonist. Hobbes, Locke, Hume, were mastered by the

spirit that never sought to assail them, and by practices they never dreamed of examining or opposing.

We are thus led to our next queries: How did it rise in him, and what is its result in the realm of philosophic thinking? These questions will be considered in a subsequent article.

◆

Art. II.—CHRISTIAN LIFE AND PRACTICE IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

The Early Years of Christianity. By E. De Pressensé, D.D. Vol. I, Apostolic Era. Vol. II, Martyrs and Apologists. Vol. III, Heresy and Christian Doctrine. Vol. IV, Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

What a fascination there is in the study of primitive Christianity! As we examine the records, monumental or bibliographic, of the early Church, our sympathies overleap the intervening centuries, and we feel our spiritual kinship with the persecuted yet triumphant community of believers, who conquered the old Roman world for Christ. "We are but of yesterday," writes Tertullian at the close of the second century, "yet we fill every city, town, and island of the empire. We abound in the very camps and castles, in the council chamber and the palace, in the senate and the forum; only your temples and your theaters are left."* The grandeur of that victory against such tremendous odds is one of the sublimest proofs of the divine energy of the Gospel, and of its perfect adaptation to the profoundest needs of humanity.

In the noble volumes of Pressensé we have probably the best apparatus extant for the study of this most interesting and important period of human development. We are greatly mistaken in our judgment, also, if the last volume, just published, will not be considered the most valuable and interesting of the series. The learned author has worthily crowned the labors of a long and studious life by this important work. For over twenty years it has been growing under his hand, and it is enriched with the fruits of his ripened scholarship and mature judgment. While based, after the strictest historical method, upon an extensive and careful study of the best contemporary

---

* Apol., cap. 37.

authorities and evidences, it is not the work of a cold critic or a formal annalist. The author is instinct with sympathy with his subject, and his style, therefore, glows with animation; yet he is not the blind partisan nor sectarian advocate. He maintains a judicial mental equipoise. He detects the germs of nascent error, and traces the divergence of early heresies from the norm of truth. The charm of the present volume to the Christian reader will be the vivid insight it gives into early Christian life and character. As we read its pages we are present at the worship of the primitive Church, we study its ecclesiastical organization, we listen to the prayers and hymns of the persecuted flock of Christ, and to the homilies of the faithful pastors and bishops who shepherded that flock in those troublous times.

The subject of this volume is treated under three divisions. The first of these discusses ecclesiastical life in the second and third centuries. This includes, as sub-sections, the admission of converts into the Church, the organization of authority, discipline in the local Church, and the mutual relations of the Churches at the beginning of the third century. We are struck with the wise care observed in excluding the formalist, the hypocrite, and the unworthy from the communion of saints. "Holy things to the holy," was the watchword of the Church in that period of unspeakable moral pollution of the pagan world. According to the "apostolical constitutions," converts from heathenism must continue for three years to receive instruction as catechumens before they were admitted to the full privileges of the community of believers.

Sacramentarian theories find no support from the investigation of the offices and institutions of the primitive Church. The simplicity and parity with their fellows of the early elders and bishops was the furthest possible remove from the sacerdotalism of the Church of Rome or of high Anglicanism. So, also, the utter baselessness of the Romish assumptions of authority is clearly shown. The spiritual supremacy of the great Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Rome—those mighty centers of thought—was a supremacy of intellectual and moral influence, not of ecclesiastical authority. It was only after long struggles against strenuous opposition, and through many fortuitous circumstances, that the self seek-

ing primates of Rome in the third and following centuries usurped that authority which has brought with it such a flood of corruptions.

The second great division of this volume discusses the private and public worship in the Churches of the second and third centuries. The first Christian Churches were the Churches in the house, and the first worship was the worship of the family. Every-day life was consecrated by prayer and praise. Each meal was a eucharist, in which the faithful broke bread with gladness, in singleness of heart. The father was the priest of the household, and offered daily the sacrifice of thanksgiving unto God. The following are examples, which have come to us down the ages, of a morning and an evening hymn, such as were wont to hallow in a thousand happy Christian homes the opening and close of each new day:—

MORNING HYMN.

Day by day will we bless thee,
And will praise thy name forever,
And from age to age.
Vouchsafe, O Lord, that we may be kept this day also without sin.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the God of our fathers,
And thy name is to be praised and glorified forever.—AMEN.

TWILIGHT HYMN.

Calm light of the celestial glory,
O Jesus, Son of the Eternal Father,
We come to thee now as the sun goes down,
And before the evening light
We seek thee, Father, Son,
And Holy Spirit of God.
Thou art worthy to be forever praised by holy voices.
O Son of God, thou givest life to us,
And therefore does the world glorify thee.

The worship of the early Church was not yet stereotyped into liturgical forms. It was characterized by a grand simplicity and freedom. Its prayers, our author remarks, were "fed and nourished on Scripture, the sacred texts being constantly reproduced, either by literal quotation or by allusion. The Divine Word bears them heavenward, as the eagle bears the eaglet on its mighty wings. The simplicity of the prayers forbids long periods, but they are equally free from dullness and abruptness. Frequent repetitions occur, the outpourings

of the deepest and tenderest emotions of the soul. As in a musical composition the principal theme recurs again and again, so in prayer we catch at frequent intervals the one dominant note, like the recurring toss of the wave on the shore, and the repetition prolongs the impression, which might else die away too soon." *

And this liberty and spontaneity of prayer long continued. It was not till the Council of Toledo, in 633, that uniformity of worship was commanded, and spontaneous prayer forbidden. Much of the spirituality of primitive worship was destroyed by this enforced formalism. "The grand liturgical productions of following ages," our author beautifully remarks, "seem sometimes, in their magnificence, to resemble the splendid tombs erected by the synagogue to the prophets whom it had first slain. It was when the spirit of true evangelical prophecy, the fire of free and fervent prayer, had been stifled under an accumulation of forms, that the Church erected these sumptuous monuments of prescribed devotion, which are too often but the cenotaphs of departed piety."†

It was probably in connection with the baptismal and eucharistic services that liturgical forms were first introduced. In the forms of prayer which accompany these rites in most of the Churches of Christendom is heard the echo of those early litanies which have come down the ages from the worship of the early Church.

The third section of this book, that on the moral life of the Christians of the third and fourth centuries, will be that, we think, which will possess the greatest charm to most readers. It was the most signal glory of early Christianity that amid the thoroughly effete and corrupt society of paganism it manifested the intense energy of that moral leaven that was to regenerate the world. It is scarce possible for modern imagination to conceive the appalling pollutions of that old pagan life. The heathen satirists and historians and the Christian Fathers and Apologists unite in painting its corruptions in most lurid hues. "Society," says Gibbon, "was a rotting, aimless chaos of sensuality." Yet, like the snow-white lily, springing in virgin purity from the muddy ooze, primitive Christianity ex-

---

* "Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church," p. 289.

† Idem, p. 293.

haled its moral fragrance amid the social corruptions of its vile environment. The lives of the believers were the noblest testimony to the power of the Gospel to quicken, and renew, and save. For they themselves, as Origen declared, "had been reclaimed from ten thousand vices." And St. Paul, magnifying the grace of God, describes some of the vilest of characters, and exclaims, "Such were some of you, but ye are washed, ye are sanctified."

The early Christians, therefore, recoiled with abhorrence from the corruptions from which they had themselves been rescued. They thus became emphatically a peculiar people, and the easily marked prey of persecution. The whole public and private life of the heathen was pervaded with the spirit of idolatry. Almost every act was performed under the auspices of some deity. Buying or selling, feasting or toiling, pleading in the courts or saluting in the market-place, the contamination of paganism was ever imminent. Hence the Christians were especially exhorted to "keep themselves from idols." From many trades and occupations they were, therefore, excluded, and the public amusements and festivities of the heathen were alike abhorrent to their modesty and piety.

"Philosophy," says Lecky, "may dignify, but is impotent to regenerate, man; it may cultivate virtue, but cannot restrain vice." The ethics of paganism were the speculations of the philosophic few, and so left uninfluenced the toiling and degraded many. The ethics of Christianity were embodied in practical principles which controlled the daily life of even the unlettered and the slave. Hence became possible the reconstruction of society on a loftier plane—the building of a new "city of God" even in the great Babylon of the West.

One of the grandest results of these Christian principles was the new dignity given to man, no matter how lowly and degraded, as one for whom Christ also died. The loftiest heathen virtue looked down with a supercilious contempt upon the toiling helots or "vile plebs" that ministered to its pleasures or enhanced its gains. The existence of a vast slave population was at once the crime and the Nemesis of pagan society. It became the hot-bed of every vice, and was alternately led by its lusts or crushed by power. Labor became degraded and

unremunerative, as slave labor always is. Hence some of the fairest and most fertile regions of Italy became sterilized to a desert, and the mistress of the world was dependent for bread on her conquered provinces. A storm on the Mediterranean, scattering the corn fleet, threatened Rome with famine and with the ravening revolt of that myriad-headed wild beast, her hunger-bitten slave population.

This vast, dumb, weltering mass of human wretchedness and vice Christianity came to elevate, to ennoble, and to bless. It raised the victims of bondage and oppression from the condition of beasts and chattels to the dignity of men and the fellowship of saints. It was the boast of the Christian apologists that in Christ Jesus there was neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free—that in the Church the conditions of worldly rank were abolished.* The wealthy noble and the lowly slave—"not now a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved"—bowed together at the same table of the Lord, saluted each other with the kiss of charity, and, side by side in their narrow graves, returned to indistinguishable dust.

Christianity also dignified and ennobled labor, and threw around it the hallowed associations of Jesus the carpenter, Peter the fisherman, and Paul the tent-maker. Labor was enjoined as a daily duty. The Christians, while fervent in spirit, were also diligent in business, and were patterns of thrift and industry. They faithfully performed life's lowly toils, and followed blamelessly whatsoever things were lovely and of good report. To the sneer of the pagan Celsus that the ranks of the Church included cobblers and weavers and ignoble slaves, Tertullian grandly answers that the humblest Christian artisan understood loftier truths than Plato ever knew.

One of the most notable results of the growth of Christianity was the development of a new instinct of philanthropy in the soul, and the creation of an extensive organization of charity. And a wide field was open for the exercise of this grace in the great multitude of suffering and sorrowing of the old Roman world. There were cruel wrongs to be mitigated, and fierce oppressions to be alleviated, and bruised and broken hearts to be cheered and bound up. Nor were these hallowed minis-

---

* Apud nos inter pauperes et divites, servos et dominos, interest nihil.—Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, vs. 14, 15.

trations confined to the Christian kinsmen of the early believers; they were extended oftentimes to their pagan enemies, to the outcast and the vile, to the unthankful and the unworthy. This impossible virtue, as the heathen deemed it, was a testimony for Jesus that even Stoic natures could neither gainsay nor deny. And doubtless the unwearied and passionate charities of the Christians melted the icy barriers of many a pagan heart, and opened the way for the reception of the truth. Voluntary collections* were regularly made in the Christian assemblies for the poor, the aged, the sick, the brethren in bonds, and for the burial of the dead. "Our charity dispenses more in the streets," says Tertullian to the heathen, "than your religion in all the temples." The Church at Antioch, says St. Chrysostom, maintained three thousand widows and virgins, besides the sick and poor. The charity of the Christians found abundant scope in ransoming their brethren held in bondage. For this purpose the Church in Carthage contributed at one time a sum equal to four thousand dollars. To ransom a number of poor captives Paulinus of Nola not only sold the treasures of his beautiful church, but is said to have sold himself into slavery. "Better clothe the living temples of Christ," says Jerome, "than adorn the temples of stone." In obedience to this principle Acacius, Bishop of Amida, sold the treasures of his church to rescue a number of poor prisoners. "God has no need," he said to a remonstrant, "of dishes and plates." In the terrible plagues which visited the great centers of ancient civilization the saintly ministrations of the Christians were especially conspicuous. When Alexandria was decimated by pestilence, the Christians, we learn from Eusebius, organized themselves, to the number of six hundred, into a fraternity for the care of the sick and the burial of the dead. Even when a fierce persecution was raging in Carthage, the Christians, many of them bearing the scars of imprisonment and the brand of the iron upon them, imperiled their lives to minister to their persecutors.

In nothing is the elevating influence of Christianity more conspicuous than in the benefits it has conferred upon woman. It has raised her from being the toy or slave of man to become his helpmate and companion. It has given tenderness and fidel-

---

* Nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert.—Tertullian. *Apol.*, c. 39.

ity to the conjugal relations, instead of caprice and selfishness, and has enshrined marriage in a sanctity before unknown. In the old heroic days of the Republic woman's virtue was "the most immediate jewel of her soul." This the Lucretias and Virginias of those early times held dearer than their lives. But under the Empire the vast influx of foreign wealth, foreign slaves, and foreign superstitions, brought with them their avenging Nemesis. Even the wives of the emperors flaunted their shame in the high places of the earth. Philosophers and sages, by both precept and example, undermined the foundations of the family, which are also the foundations of the State. Cicero, who reasoned so profoundly concerning the nature of the gods, basely put away his wife that he might repair his wasted fortunes by marrying his wealthy ward. Woman, says Gibbon, was not a *person*, but a *thing*. She had no rights, no interests of her own; nor should she have any friends nor any gods, says Plutarch, but her husband's. The recklessness of divorce and prevailing profligacy of life was recognized even by a licentious poet as the cause of national decay.* But Christianity came to rescue woman from this abyss of shame, to enthrone her amid the sanctities of home, to invest her with the household virtues, and to employ her in the tender ministrations of love. It recognized in her an immortal soul. It treated her as a fellow-pilgrim with man through a world of probation to an eternal reward. Marriage, therefore, was sanctified as a type of the mystical union between Christ and his Church, and modesty was regarded as the crown of all the graces. Divorce, which had attained a fatal facility among the heathen, was regarded as a flagrant sin, save only for the cause which Christ himself assigns as rendering it lawful. In a passage of great beauty, addressed to his own wife, Tertullian expresses the dignity and purity of Christian wedlock. He exclaims:—

> How can I paint the happiness of a marriage which the Church ratifies, the sacrament confirms, the benediction seals, angels announce, and our heavenly Father declares valid! What a union of two believers—one hope, one vow, one discipline, one worship! They are brother and sister, two fellow-servants, one spirit and one flesh. They pray together, fast together, exhort and support one another. They go together to the house of God, and to the

---

* Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.—HORACE.

table of the Lord. They share each other's trials, persecutions, and joys. Neither avoids nor hides any thing from the other. They delight to visit the sick, succor the needy, and daily lay their offerings before the altar without scruple or constraint. They do not need to keep the sign of the cross hidden, nor to express secretly their joy, nor to receive by stealth the eucharist. They join in psalms and hymns, and strive who best can praise God. Christ rejoices at the sight, and sends his peace upon them. Where two are joined in his name he also is; and where he is there evil cannot come. *

How infinitely superior is such an ideal of marriage to that of Cicero, or even of Cato the Censor, who ceded his wife to his friend Hortensius, with the approval of her father, and took her back again after his death.

The peril of intermarriage with the heathen was strongly urged in the primitive Church, and believers were enjoined, under pain of ecclesiastical penalties, to marry only in the Lord. "Women married to pagans," says St. Jerome, "become parts of the bodies whose ribs they are." Where a heathen matron was converted to Christianity, she was exhorted, by faith and prayer and the exhibition of the Christian graces, to strive to win her companion to the truth. Tertullian thus describes the obstacles which the Christian wife of an idolator must meet in her religious life: "At the time for worship the husband will appoint the use of the bath; when a fast is to be observed, he will invite company to a feast. When she would bestow alms both safe and cellar are closed against her. What heathen will suffer his wife to attend the nightly meeting of the Church, the slandered Supper of the Lord, to visit even in the poorest hovels the sick and the afflicted, to kiss the martyr's chains in prison, to rise in the night for prayer, to show hospitality to stranger brethren?"* Secret marriages were forbidden, and Tertullian exhorts that the approbation of the earthly as well as of the heavenly parent should accompany this sacred rite.

A conformity on the part of Christian households to the pomps and vanities of the heathen, all of which they had solemnly renounced at baptism, was strictly forbidden by primitive discipline. In their apparel and the modest adornments of their houses, they avoided the ostentatious luxury and costly adornings of the pagans around them. Christian women were

---

* Ad Uxorem, ii, 8.

exhorted to be patterns of sobriety and godliness, abstaining from the wearing of golden ornaments, which often were contaminated by heathen symbols. "Let woman breathe the odor of the true royal ointment, that of Christ," writes Clement of Alexandria, "and not of unguents and scented powders. Let her be anointed with the ambrosial chrism of industry, and find delight in the holy unguent of the Spirit, and offer spiritual fragrance. She may not crown the living image of God as the heathen do dead idols. *Her* fair crown is one of amaranth, which groweth not on earth, but in the skies." *

In similar strain, also, Tertullian exhorts Christian matrons to wear the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit as the truest adorning of the female character. "Be arrayed in the ornaments of the apostles and prophets," he writes, "drawing your whiteness from simplicity, your ruddy hue from modesty, painting your eyes with bashfulness, your mouth with silence, implanting in your ears the word of God, fitting on your neck the yoke of Christ. Clothe yourself with the silk of uprightness, the fine linen of holiness, the purple of modesty, and you shall have God himself for your lover and spouse." †

A conspicuous symptom of the decay of primitive simplicity and piety was an increased sumptuousness of apparel. Against this the writings of the Fathers especially inveigh, and sumptuary regulations prohibited the use of gold brocade or silken tissue. Clement of Alexandria denounces with indignation the extravagance and luxury that had invaded the Church of that city—a sort of ancient Paris, setting the fashion of folly and frivolity and oriental extravagance and effeminacy even to Rome itself. Wealthy ladies, instead of succoring the poor and maintaining widows and orphans, expended their means on chariots and gilded litters, in baths and banquets, in costly cabinets and couches, and in luxurious draperies and jewelry; and wasted their sympathies, not unlike some of their modern sisters, on parrots, peacocks, monkeys and Maltese dogs.‡ He compares, let us hope with unnecessary severity, the fashionable women of Alexandria to "an Egyptian temple, gorgeous indeed without, but enshrining only a cat or a crocodile; so beneath their meretricious adorning were concealed vile and

---

* Pædagogus, ii, 8. † De Cultu Feminarum, ii, 3–18. ‡ Pædagogus, iii, 4.

loathsome passions."[*] "Nevertheless," he adds, "they cannot with their bought and painted beauty avoid wrinkles or evade death." Yet he does not condemn riches in themselves, but urges sanctified wisdom in their use. "They are like the deadly asp," he says, "which will sting us unless we know how to take it by the tail."

Few objects are more common among the disinterred relics of old Roman life at Pompeii than the rouge pots, ceruse vases, and other articles of toilet luxury of the proud dames of that gay summer city. It appears, from the indignant protest of Jerome, that after the peace of the Church, when Christianity had become fashionable with the court party, this worldly example was copied by some professed disciples of the lowly Nazarene. "What business," he scornfully asks, "have paint and rouge on a Christian cheek? Who can weep for her sins, when her tears wash bare furrows on her skin? With what trust can faces be lifted to heaven which their Maker cannot recognize as his workmanship?"[†] St. Cyprian satirically suggests of such, that the Almighty might not be able to recognize them at the resurrection. Moreover, he adds, they should not dye their hair, since it is an attempted violation of the decree: "Thou canst not make one hair white or black." This practice seems to have been not uncommon among the fair dames of Carthage, another great center of wealth and fashion, as also the custom, not unlike certain modern modes, of wearing the hair, often false, in a towering mass, and tortured into unnatural forms[‡] With characteristic vehemence Tertullian denounced these "flame-colored heads, built up with pads and rolls, the slough, perhaps, of some guilty wretch now in hell."[§]

An important chapter of Pressensé treats of Christianity and asceticism. The tendency in this direction was largely the result of the moral recoil of the Christians from the selfish and often polluting indulgence of the senses encouraged by heathen life. The ascetic notions of the Essenes among the Jews, and of the Therapeetæ of Egypt probably encouraged this spirit

---

[*] Pædagogus, iii, 6.

[†] Polire faciem purpurisso, et cerusa ora depingere, *Hieron.* 1 Ep., 54.

[‡] "Ornare crinem," remarks Jerome, "et alienis capillis turritam verticem struere. Ep. 54.

[§] De Velandis Virginibus, ii, 17

among the early Christians. The Gnostic and Manichæan heresies still more widely diffused the conception of the inherent evil of matter and the antagonism of the flesh to the spirit. One of the earliest manifestations of this principle was the exaggerated sanctity of single life. From this bitter root sprang the whole monastic system of later times, with all its evil fruit, putting asunder what God has joined, as holier than he. On the Procrustean rack of this iron rule the tenderest and most sacred affections of the human heart were ruthlessly tortured. But during the first three centuries of the Christian era there is no trace of a celibate clergy. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence of the marriage of ecclesiastics of every rank. Nay, according to Clement of Alexandria, he is most truly heroic who, in marriage, and in the duties of a family and the care of a home, rises above mere pleasure and pain, arming himself against all the temptations that come to him through wife and children, servants and goods. The celibate, on the other hand, escapes the most difficult of all ordeals: he is occupied only with himself; hence his inferiority to the man, who, instead of being absorbed only in his own salvation, devotes himself also to the good of his household.*

The testimony of the Roman Catacombs distinctly shows that in the earlier and purer ages of the Church the compulsory celibacy of the clergy was unknown. In numerous inscriptions, even of a comparatively late period, ecclesiastics of various ranks lament the death of their wives, "chaste, just, and holy." "Would to God," exclaims our author, "that all their successors had such!"

It was not till the fourth century that this ordinance of "forbidding to marry," which has been fraught with such appalling moral evils to society, was formulated in a canon of the Church. The conception of the superior sanctity of celibacy now spread rapidly. Jerome writes with characteristic enthusiasm of single life. "The community of virgins are the vessels of gold and silver; that of the married, only of wood and earthenware." † "Marriage replenishes earth," he says; "virginity, heaven." ‡ In expounding the parable of the sower, he writes: "The thirty-fold refers to marriage, the sixty-fold to widow-

---

* Stromata, vii, 12, 70. † Hieron., *Adv.*, *Jour.*, i.

‡ Nuptiæ terram repleut, virginitas Paradisum, *Ib.*

hood; but the hundred-fold expresses the crowning glory of virginity." At first world-weary women rather than men, probably, embraced the vocation of single life, for the greater leisure and freedom it gave for religious service, and as an escape from the vacuity and vanity of fashionable folly. Such an enthusiasm was kindled by the exhortations of Jerome that many of the noble and wealthy women of Rome espoused a life of celibacy, and worldly-wise mothers felt constrained to seclude their daughters from the fascinations of his eloquence.

The monastic spirit only gradually pervaded Christendom. As the political aspect of the times became chaotic, and the great empire was breaking up under the weight of its own corruptions and the assaults of barbarians, hope grew dim in the hearts of patient watchers for the dawn. Despairing of the regeneration of society, they sought, in spiritual selfishness, to save their own souls alive by fleeing from a doomed world, and hiding in the clefts of the rock and caves of the earth till the indignation should be overpast.

The doubtful honor of originating monastic life is claimed for the rival saints, Anthony and Paul of Egypt. Of these, the former is the more celebrated through the account of his life written by Athanasius, the reading of which led to the conversion of St. Augustine, the Great Doctor of the West. Anthony, the youthful heir of great possessions, hearing the words read, "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell that thou hast, and give to the poor," they came like a voice from heaven to his soul. He immediately obeyed, withdrew to the desert, and underwent the most extreme austerities. He fasted for days, dwelt in caves or among the tombs, slept on the bare ground, and scourged his frame with frequent and unsparing flagellation. His morbid and melancholy imagination dwelt much on the terrors of the quenchless fire, on the torment of the undying worm. He fancied himself the object of demoniacal assault. Loathsome, bestial forms, doubtless the offspring of delirium, haunted his lonely cell; or, more terrible still, beings of unearthly beauty sought to allure him to perdition. But he fought valiantly against them, "chasing them with holy words as with whips." Multitudes of devout ascetics followed him to the wilderness, till, "lo!" writes his biographer, "the cells in the mountains were like tents filled with divine choirs, sing-

ing, discoursing, rejoicing; working that they might give alms thereof, and having love and concord with each other, so that one seeing would have said, 'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel!'"

In recounting some of the alleged miracles wrought by the saint, Jerome naively remarks: "These things will appear incredible to those who do not believe, but to those who believe, all things are possible." He tells, for instance, how a she-wolf led the hermit to the cave of the blessed Paul, a fellow-ascetic. A raven, which for sixty years had brought half a loaf daily to the holy man, now brought a whole one; but neither of the saints would break it, Paul declining because he was the host, and Anthony because he was the younger man. After a day's dispute, they compromised the matter by each taking hold of the end of the loaf and pulling till it broke. With such puerilities is this "holy romance" disfigured, and even its historical elements invalidated.

The practice of monastic retirement spread like an epidemic throughout Christendom. Soon no lonely island, no desert shore, no gloomy vale, was without its laura or monastery. At the close of the fourth century Jerome declares there existed an innumerable company of monks,[*] and, bursting into poetical enthusiasm, exclaims, "O wilderness, blooming with the flowers of Christ! O desert, rejoicing in communion with the Deity!" The land swarmed with anchorets, who seemed spawned, as was contemptuously said, from the mud of the Nile. They became a mighty nation, soon rivaling in number the population of the cities.[†] All classes of society shared the contagion. Men, wearying of the ignoble life and petty ambitions of cities, left the palace and the forum for the solemn silence of the desert, and forsook the babbling strife of tongues for solitary communion with God. Women, sated and sickened with fashionable folly and tawdry vanity, with something of the old Roman spirit flashing in their eyes, turned from the frivolous enjoyments of the world to a life of stern asceticism. With hearts aching for a spiritual sympathy which they found

---

[*] Monachorum innumerabilis multitudo.

[†] Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tantæ pæne habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum.—Rufin. 7. Pachomius, the first disciple of St. Anthony, had seven thousand followers.

not in their often loveless homes, they yearned for the Divine perfection, and poured the precious ointment of their lives on the feet of the celestial Bridegroom. The once beautiful Mary of Egypt became sordid and emaciated. By constant genuflexion and prayer the knees of the Roman damsel, Asella, became hard as a camel's.* "For twenty years," said Macarius, "I have neither eaten, drunk, nor slept as nature craved. My bread has been weighed, my water measured, and my sleep has been stolen while reclining against a wall." † The record of these ascetic austerities, as given by Theodoret, Evagrius, Socrates, Sozomen, and other contemporary writers, is a painful chapter in the history of superstition.

Pressensé devotes his last chapter to the Christianity of the Catacombs. "There is no historical monument," he says, "comparable to the Catacombs as a source of intimate knowledge of a religion through the feelings of its faithful adherents. We find in them the spontaneous utterances of the heart, never intended for the public eye, and which are, therefore, far more trustworthy than the studied and formal statements of religious thought and feeling which we get in books."—Pp. 493, 494. Similar to this is the testimony of Dean Stanley. "He who is thoroughly steeped in the imagery of the Catacombs," he says, "will be nearer to the thought of the early Church than he who has learned by heart the most elaborate treatise even of Tertullian or Origen." ‡ On this part of the subject we shall not dwell, as we have elsewhere given with much fullness of detail and copious pictorial illustration their important testimony as to the history, martyrology, art and symbolism, doctrinal teaching, ministry, rites and institutions of the primitive Church, and as to the life and character, and social and domestic relations, of the early Christians. §

---

* Hieron., Epis. xxi. † Socrat., iv, 23. ‡ Eastern Churches.

§ Withrow's Catacombs of Rome, and their Testimony Relative to Primitive Christianity. New York: Nelson & Philips.. See *passim*, and especially pp. 203–543.

A 706214

ART. III.—SCHLIEMANN'S DISCOVERIES AT MYCENÆ AND TIRYNS.

Mycenæ; A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns. By DR. HENRY SCHLIEMANN, Citizen of the United States of America; Author of "Troy and its Remains," "*Ithaque, la Péloponnèse et Troie,*" and "*La Chine et le Japon.*" The Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. M. P. Maps, Plans, and other Illustrations, representing more than 700 Types of the Objects found in the Royal Sepulchers of Mycenæ and Elsewhere in the Excavations. Imperial 8vo., pp. lxviii, and 384. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.

NOTHING could be more natural than for Dr. Schliemann, after his remarkable success in unearthing the remains of what may reasonably be believed to be the ancient city of Troy, to turn his eyes with covetous glance to the district known as the Argolis. There, if anywhere, he was likely to obtain confirmation of the accuracy of his theory of the historic reality of the expedition which has been in men's mouths for the past three thousand years—in fact, of that entire cycle of song, whose renown Homer makes, even in the time of his heroes, to have "reached broad heaven." (Odyssey, viii, 74.)

If not beyond dispute the part first settled, the north-eastern corner of Peloponnesus was certainly the part that attained at an early period a very distinct predominance in the politics of the peninsula. One of the Argolic cities was the reputed birthplace of Heracles, or Hercules, the typical Greek hero, and in the vicinity was laid the scene of several of his renowned "labors." Another city was the capital of one of the three kingdoms apportioned among themselves by the Heracleidæ. That it was by far the richest and most powerful, not only of these three kingdoms, but of all the kingdoms of Greece, seems conclusively established. Except on this supposition it is well-nigh impossible to account for the supreme rank conceded to Agamemnon, a prince personally by no means the bravest or most warlike of his age.

Mycenæ, then, the capital of Agamemnon's dominions, or as the poet is wont to say, "of central Argos and the islands," is the spot above all others in Greece where traces of that civilization which appears in the Iliad and to some extent in the Odyssey ought to be discovered. The very fact of the early

destruction of Mycenæ, just at the beginning of the brilliant period of Athenian supremacy, might be expected to be a favorable element in the search. As the total overthrow of the city by the inhabitants of the neighboring and rival city of Argos occurred only eleven years subsequently to the battle of Platæa, whatever remains might be discovered must necessarily belong to a period antedating the great development of Attic art. In fact, in a city which like Mycenæ steadily declined after the end of the heroic age, apparently because of its inability to adjust itself to the new order of things, those remains should exhibit a culture and the marks of a civil life not very dissimilar to those of the time of the rule of the son of Atreus.

So, at least, thought Dr. Schliemann, and scarcely had he completed his excavations at Hissarlik, when he began to make arrangements for exploring the site covered with Cyclopean ruins in the neighborhood of the village of Charvati, long since identified, beyond any dispute, with Mycenæ.

Before speaking of the results of these explorations and discussing their significance, it may be well to recall the principal facts previously known respecting the city.

Mycenæ stood at the northern end of the plain of Argos, which, like all other level spaces in the mountainous country of Greece, is of very limited extent. From Mycenæ to the head of the Argolic Gulf, the length of the plain is barely ten miles, and the breadth, at its greatest, is only nine. North of Mycenæ the plain contracts into a narrow defile between hills of considerable height. Through this defile led in ancient times the road to Nemea and Phlius, as well as to Cleonæ, and thence to Corinth and northern Greece. If it be asked, What considerations led to the selection of a spot now altogether uninhabited for the chief city of early Greece, it may be answered that, apart from the strength of the situation itself, the command of the pass in question probably had considerable influence in the choice. Moreover, it must be remembered that, as Thucydides tells us, (i, 7,) the settlers of ancient times preferred to place their strongholds some distance back from the sea-shore, for greater security in view of the great prevalence of piracy. The plain itself, of which the Inachus was the chief stream, suffered in its upper portions rom the

scarcity of water, in its lower parts from a too great abundance of it. At present there are but two towns of any size. One of these is *Nauplia*, or, as the Italian sailors have christened it, *Napoli di Romania*, not precisely in the plain, but upon a rocky promontory projecting into the bay on the south-eastern side of its head. The position of the town at the base and on the sides of the *Palamede*, its fortress, commends itself to the eye of a soldier as peculiarly capable of defense, especially under the old system of warfare. Accordingly, for ages it has been the key of this part of Greece, and Franks, Venetians, and Turks have successively prized its possession. We have ourselves seen the winged lion of St. Mark on several parts of the gates and fortifications. The city of Nauplia, we believe, still continues to be the most populous place in the modern government (dioikesis) of Argolis. Next to it comes the town of Argos, nestling at the foot of the hill known by its old Pelasgic name of Larissa.

In ancient times there were three principal cities of note: Argos, Tiryns, and Mycenæ. Of these Mycenæ, though according to tradition the latest founded, grew to be by far the most important, and especially about the time of the Trojan War had gained so distinct a pre-eminence that Diomede, king of Argos, figures in the Homeric poems in the light of a chief feudatory under Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. The three cities formed the angles of an obtuse-angled triangle, with the obtuse angle at Argos. Of the three, Argos has left us (above-ground) by far the least interesting remains, for the reason chiefly, perhaps, that, having remained an inhabited city for many ages after the destruction of its rival, the massive Cyclopean constructions doubtless existing there at one time were destroyed, and the material either removed as rubbish, or broken up and employed in the erection of more recent works. Hence the only traces of the early period at Argos are found in some patches of the walls of the citadel, mixed up with Roman, Byzantine and later Mediæval work; while the theater, etc., in the lower town are of an Hellenic or post-Hellenic origin. So much for the remains above ground. Yet we cannot doubt that judicious exploration would reveal much of interest buried for many centuries from the eye of man, of which even the inhabitants of the Hellenic Argos, five

or six hundred years before Christ, were entirely ignorant. So late, however, as the time of Pausanias (in the second century of the Christian era) there was pointed out * a subterranean building, apparently the counterpart of the celebrated *treasuries* of Mycenæ. Dr. Schliemann does not appear to have made any attempt to explore this doubtless very rich site.

Tiryns, the fabled birthplace of Hercules, is the first of the cities whose exploration Dr. Schliemann describes in the volume before us. The site was found without hesitation on the ruin-covered eminence lying between two and three miles north of Nauplia, in the lower part of the plain. The hill, rising solitary in the midst of a very level district, has been compared to a ship riding on smooth water. What strikes the traveler as most remarkable in the remains is the wonderful solidity of the walls. The stones are themselves ponderous, being so great that, to use Pausanias' expression, a yoke of mules could not move even the smallest. These huge boulders, rough and apparently unwrought, are piled one upon another, without attempt to bind them together by mortar or clamp of metal, or to observe regularity in the laying of courses. It is characteristic of this style of masonry, (generally credited by antiquaries with being the most ancient of the so-called Cyclopean modes of construction,) that frequently small stones have been forced into the interstices between the large masses; whether with a view to ornament or stability it is, perhaps, not always easy to determine. The walls thus heaped up at Tiryns vary, according to Dr. Schliemann, from twenty-five to fifty feet in thickness, and were, doubtless, when standing at their full height, of proportionate loftiness, constituting a peculiarly commanding object in the lower Argolic plain. Next to the general circuit of the wall so remarkably well preserved, the most singular feature of the ruins was some galleries in the walls, of which one in the south-east part of the circuit is particularly interesting. It is not less than *ninety* feet in length, with a breadth of nearly eight feet, running

---

* He classes it among the ϑέας ἄξια, of his own day, (ii, 23, 7.) But the "brazen chamber," in which Danaë was confined by her father, Acrisins, when Jupiter visited her in a shower of gold, and which stood upon or by it, ἐπ' αὐτῷ, had been destroyed by Perilaus.

parallel with the length of the walls. The pointed top is not *arched* over, but is formed by causing the upper courses of stones to overlap until they nearly or quite touch. To add to the singularity, this passage has six side openings of similar form, toward the *outside* of the wall. Had they been in the opposite direction, the use of the gallery might have been supposed to be that of a store-house or armory. As it is, Dr. Schliemann suggests that the six niches may have been intended for arches, and the passage itself as a covered communication to guard-houses, towers, etc. The explanation, however, must still be regarded as obscure and unsatisfactory. Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Tiryns establish a few points of importance. To the walls, which he agrees with other observers in regarding as the most ancient in Greece, he ascribes an antiquity of sixteen hundred to eighteen hundred years before Christ. The only metals met with were bronze and lead. On the other hand, no stone implements were discovered. The archaic pottery, much resembling that subsequently found at Mycenæ, by no means establishes the existence of so low a civilization as the rude walls would lead us to expect; while the fact that pottery of a much later date was discovered outside of the citadel, induces our author to believe that here a new city arose, probably in the beginning of the fourth century before Christ. The majority of the houses of the more ancient city Dr. Schliemann conjectures to have "consisted of unburned bricks, which still form the building material of most of the villages in the Argolid."—P. 9.

It may be noted that at Tiryns Dr. Schliemann began to discover those terra-cotta figures, to which he gives the name of "*cow-headed.*" Just as he believes that the designation "*glaukopis*," applied to Athena or Minerva, can only be understood as an allusion to the fact that originally that goddess was worshiped *with an owl's head*, so he is confident that the designation "*boöpis*," belonging to Juno, arose from the circumstance that the wife of Jove was represented with the head and horns of a *cow*. We cannot say that in either case he has brought forward demonstrative evidence, and yet we see much probability in the supposition. As was shown in a previous article, when the views of Dr. Schliemann on this subject, propounded in his "Troy and its Remains," were

under consideration, early pagan mythology seems to point to an antecedent period of idolatry, in which animal forms were worshiped as the embodiment of mental faculties or moral principles. Next we find, by a natural revulsion against the grossness of these representations, the less degraded, but still repulsive, figures, in which, as in the eagle-headed Nisroch, only so much of the animal form is retained as is historically necessary in the worshiper's view. Last of all comes the entire rejection of the animal form, for which a perfect human body is substituted, while some accompanying emblem serves the purpose of recalling the old significance. As the owl is on the later coins of Athens the constant accompaniment of Minerva's head, so the cow's head adorns the coins of Samos, an island where the *cultus* of Juno was more than usually important. However, we must refer the curious in such matters to the full discussion of Dr. Schliemann.* The terra cotta cows and cow-headed "idols" found and figured in the present volume are, it is true, not all of them well made out; some of those in colored plates A, B, C and D require the exercise of a pretty strong imagination to recognize them as cows rather than dogs or cats, and, we suspect, would not have been recognized at all save by a person with decided prepossessions in favor of their vaccine character. Yet the probability that they are meant for cows, and that, being such, they are not mere children's toys, but have a religious significance, is increased by the discovery of the really magnificent head of silver with golden horns, which could scarcely have had other than a symbolic import.† It must not be forgotten that the whole region of which Mycenæ was the center was closely connected with the worship of Juno, as the myths respecting Hercules sufficiently evidence, and, indeed, that the great *Heræum*, or grove and sanctuary of Juno, was only fifteen stadia, or less than two miles (south-east) of Mycenæ. There stood the great statue of the goddess represented in a sitting posture, made of gold

---

* "Mycenæ," xix–xxii.

† We were at first inclined to regard favorably the view set forth early last year in an Athenian journal by one of the professors in the university, namely, that the head (then somewhat covered with rust, etc.) was intended for a *stag's* rather than a *cow's* head, representing the stag of Cerynia, in Arcadia, the capture of which was the object of the third of the labors of Hercules. An inspection of the plates in Dr. Schliemann's work convinces us that this view is incorrect.

and ivory, the work of the celebrated sculptor, Polyclitus.* So deep-seated was the veneration of the inhabitants of the whole region for Juno, as here adored, that, after the destruction of Mycenæ, her worship was maintained with no less devotion by the Argives, who even reckoned time by the years of the high-priestess of Juno.

The ruins of *Mycenæ*, to which naturally Dr. Schliemann devoted most of his attention, had come down to us with little change from the time when that minute topographer, Pausanias, visited them, seventeen hundred years ago. The description he gives (ii, 16) might answer substantially for the present general aspect.

After stating that "the inhabitants of Argos destroyed Mycenæ out of envy, because, whereas the Argives remained passive during the invasion of the Mede, the Myceneans sent to Thermopylæ eighty men who took part with the Lacedæmonians in the engagement"—a patriotic act "which involved them in destruction, by exciting the resentment of the Argives"—Pausanias adds:—

> Nevertheless, there still remains, together with other parts of the circuit, the gate, on which lions stand. It is said that these also are the work of the Cyclopes who built the wall at Tiryns for Prœtus. In the ruins of Mycenæ is the fountain called Perseia, and the subterranean buildings of Atreus and his sons, where were the treasuries of their wealth. There is the tomb of Atreus, and the tombs of as many as Ægisthus slew at a feast when they had returned with Agamemnon from Troy. Respecting the genuineness of the monument of Cassandra the Lacedæmonians of Amyclæ dispute; but there is another of Agamemnon, and that of his charioteer Eurymedon, and the joint tomb of Teledamus and Pelops, twins borne by Cassandra, whom, while still in their infancy, Ægisthus is said to have butchered in addition to their parents. There is the tomb of Electra also, for she was married to Pylades, having been given in mariage to him by Orestes. Hellanicus adds that Medon and Strophius were children of Pylades born of Electra. Clytæmnestra, also, and Ægisthus are buried rather far from the wall, and were not deemed worthy of burial within, where Agamemnon himself lay, and those slain with him.†

---

* Pausanias, ii, 17, 4.

† Pausanias, Descriptio Græciæ, ii, 16, 5–7. It ought to be remarked that the words καὶ Ἠλέκτρας are wanting in the MSS., and are omitted by Schubart, but are required by the connection.

The walls of the citadel of Mycenæ compare not unfavorably in solidity with those of Tiryns, though displaying more variety. Dr. Schliemann says:—

> The Acropolis is surrounded by Cyclopean walls, from thirteen to thirty-five feet high, and on an average sixteen feet thick. Their entire circuit still exists, but they have evidently been much higher. They are of beautiful hard breccia, with which the neighboring mountains abound. They follow the sinuosities of the rock, and show three different kinds of architecture. By far the greater portion of them is built exactly like the walls of Tiryns, although not so massively.*

Dr. Schliemann agrees with previous writers in regarding this as the most ancient style of masonry, older than that which he designates as "walls of the second period," consisting of "polygons, fitted together with great art, so that, in spite of the infinite variety of joints, they formed as it were one solidly united and neat wall, as if of rock." Last of all he places, as "walls of the third period," those walls to the right and left of the great gate, which consist of almost quadrangular blocks arranged in horizontal layers; but their joints are not always vertical, and they present lines more or less oblique."†

The celebrated "Gate of Lions," which Dr. Schliemann has taken extraordinary pains to investigate in all its details, and which is here presented to the eye of the reader with a profusion of illustrations, is the principal entrance to the citadel. Contrary to the statement of previous writers, who pretended to have dug down to the original threshold, and noticed the very ruts of the wheels of ancient chariots, Dr. Schliemann maintains that the unbroken accumulation of rubbish, requiring infinite trouble and no little time to remove, proved indisputably that the gate had never been cleared since the time when apparently the defenders hurled down great stones to block it up! The wheel-ruts exist only in the imagination of the writers. Upon the now uncovered stones there is nothing of the kind to be seen! ‡

---

* "Mycenæ," p. 29.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30. The classification is not an original one, being that, among others, of C. O. Muller, "Ancient Art and its Remains," p. 21, and Aldenhoven, "Itineraire descriptif de l'Attique et du Péloponnèse," pp. 387, 388.

‡ Yet the proportions of the height and breadth of the gate, according to the engraving, for example, in Felton's Smith's "History of Greece," (Boston, 1855,)

The gateway opening is ten feet eight inches high, and widens from nine feet six inches at the top to ten feet three inches below. On this rests a lintel fifteen feet long, and on this in turn the triangular slab (ten feet high, twelve feet wide, and two feet thick) on which "are represented in relief two lions, standing opposite to each other on their long outstretched hind-legs, and resting with their fore-paws on either side of the top of an altar, on the midst of which stands a column with a capital formed of four circles inclosed between two horizontal fillets." The general belief that the heads of the lions have been broken off, Dr. Schliemann shows to be erroneous, for he has found that they were *not* cut from the same stone with the animals, but "were made separately, and fastened on the bodies with bolts." He thinks that, on account of the contracted space, the heads must have been protruding and facing the spectator, and inclines to the belief that they were of bronze, and gilded. As to the significance of the sculpture, his preference is for regarding the column as the symbol of "Apollo Agyieus," that is, the "guardian of the gate-way," whom Orestes and Electra, in fact, invoke when entering their father's house, (Soph. Electra, 1374.) *

To our knowledge respecting the mode of construction and use of the strange underground building commonly known as the Treasury of Atreus, or Tomb of Agamemnon, Dr. Schliemann does not add very much. Of its importance he rightly observes, that "this Treasury is the most important and the only complete monument of prehistoric times in Greece, and the interest attached to it is so much the greater, as tradition assigns it to Atreus, the father of Agamemnon, king of men." The photographic view given of the entrance corroborates the accuracy of the representations of Stuart and others. The dimensions of the enormous inner lintel which has long amazed those unacquainted with the marvels of building which men so destitute of mechanical labor-saving contrivances as the early inhabitants of the peninsula were able to accomplish, are given at three feet nine inches in thickness, twenty-seven and a half

---

p. 24, are strikingly correct, as may be seen by a comparison with the large view given by Schliemann from a photograph; and what look like "ruts" in the former nearly coincide with the "furrows" of the latter. "Mycenæ," pp. 121, 122.

* "Mycenæ," p. 34.

feet in length on its lower and twenty-nine feet on its upper surface, and seventeen in breadth. The weight is, therefore, about three hundred thousand English pounds, or, one hundred and thirty-eight tons! Others estimate it a little higher, at one hundred and sixty-six tons. Our author coincides in the opinion almost universal among antiquaries, that the entire inner surface of the principal circular dome-shaped chamber, fifty feet high and fifty feet in diameter, was originally covered with bronze plates, secured by means of great broad-headed nails of bronze, of which some have been found whole, and many traces of the rest may be seen embedded in the stones. Such were the brazen chambers of which mythology and primeval history have so much to say. "Thus it is certain that in a remote antiquity, before sculpture or painting came into use for wall decoration, polished metal plates were employed to give both splendor and dignity to the houses of the rich." *

The excavations of our author, which were productive of the magnificent results that have given his name a place among the names of the most fortunate of explorers, began at the "Gate of Lions," and were pushed southward from this point within the inclosure of the Acropolis. One reason for the selection of this spot was the conviction forced upon his mind by a careful reading of the celebrated passage of Pausanias already translated, that the topographer intended to state that the tombs of those he mentions by name were all, with the exception of Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra, situated within the *walls of the Acropolis*, or citadel, and not within the *general walls* of the city merely, as even such judicious writers as Colonel Leake, Dodwell, Prokesch, and Ernst Curtius had supposed.† And, certainly, a second reading of the passage will lead any candid mind to the same conclusion. For the walls referred to are unquestionably the same walls in which but a moment before Pausanias has located the "gate with the lions over it." The natural inference would seem, then, to be that the tombs in question ought to be found just within, or at least not very far distant from the Lions' Gate.

The excavation proved to be a difficult undertaking, not so much because of the natural accumulation of detritus as from "the huge blocks by which the passage was obstructed, and

---

* *Ibid.*, p. 15.

† "Mycenæ," p. 60, *et passim.*

which seem to have been hurled from the adjoining walls at the assailants, when the Acropolis was captured by the Argives in 468 B.C." The first discovery was of a small chamber on the left, immediately on entering the gate. Dr. Schliemann says that it was "undoubtedly the ancient door-keeper's habitation." This is not, however, quite so clear to our mind, for Dr. Schliemann himself makes it to be but four and a half feet high, or much too low for any but a dwarf to stand upright in, not to speak of men of the stature of the contemporaries of the persons whose remains were subsequently disinterred. It is true that Dr. Schliemann apologetically adds that, though the chamber "would not be to the taste of our present door-keepers," "in the heroic age comfort was unknown, particularly to slaves, and, being unknown, it was unmissed."* But he gives no indication of the reason why a more rational height could not be afforded, and, unfortunately, on none of his elaborate plans is the chamber put down.

For a distance of about eighty feet the deep trench from the Lions' Gate disclosed nothing more interesting than a number of walls of Cyclopean style, so called, belonging partly to houses, perhaps, partly to cisterns. This interval past, an unexpected discovery was made. Two parallel rows of nearly vertical slabs were met at the distance of a foot or two apart, which, on further examination, were found to form two complete concentric circles. The slabs had a uniform inclination toward the center of the circles, being at an angle of seventy-five degrees with the horizon. It was Dr. Schliemann's first hasty supposition, before the circuit had been made out, that these slabs set on end were monumental *stelai*, or tombstones; but this had soon to be abandoned. Resting upon them in places were other slabs, which, when inspected, proved to be furnished with tenons fitting into notches in the upright slabs. Evidently, the whole circuit had been similarly provided, and thus a continuous bench had been formed around a space ninety or one hundred feet in diameter. Of this interesting discovery, Dr. Schliemann says:—

> "My supposition that the double parallel row of large slabs would be found to form a complete circle, has been proved correct. One half of it rests on the wall, which was intended to support it in

---

* "Mycenæ," p. 62.

> the lower part of the Acropolis; the other half is founded on the higher flat rock, and touches the foot of the Cyclopean wall before mentioned; the entrance to it is from the north side.
>
> At first I thought that the space between the two rows might have served for libations or for offerings of flowers in honor of the illustrious dead. But I now find this to be impossible, because the double row of slabs was originally covered with cross slabs, of which six are still *in situ;* they are firmly fitted in and consolidated by means of notches one and a quarter to three and a third inches deep, and four inches broad in the upper edges of the aslant standing slabs of the two parallel rows, which received similar projections on the cross stones, forming a mortice and tenon joint. As these latter exist on all the slabs, there can be no doubt that the whole circle was originally covered in the same way. The vertical slabs are from four feet two inches to eight feet two inches long, and one foot eight inches to four feet broad, and the largest are in the two places where the double row descends from the rock to the supporting wall. Inside there is, first, a layer of stones one foot four inches thick, for the purpose of holding the slabs in their place; the remaining space is filled up with pure earth mixed with long, thin cockle shells in the places where the original covering remains in its position, or with household remains, mixed with innumerable fragments of archaic pottery wherever the covering is missing. This circumstance can leave no doubt that the cross slabs were only removed after the city had been captured and deserted, because all the fragments of archaic pottery must necessarily have been washed down by the rain from the five natural or artificial upper terraces of the Acropolis, and this can, of course, only have taken place after Mycenæ had been abandoned by its inhabitants.*

The inclination is such that a person sitting upon this bench, and facing toward the interior of the circle, would have convenient room for his feet; for it must be noticed that the two rows of slabs come to precisely the same height, and the cross slabs are accordingly perfectly horizontal. Of the identification of the spot with the *Agora*, or *Place of Public Assembly*, of Mycenæ, Dr. Schliemann remarks:—

> My esteemed friend, Professor F. A. Paley, has been the first to advance the opinion, accepted by Mr. Charles T. Newton and by myself, that the double parallel circle of slabs, having been in the most solid way covered with cross slabs, must necessarily have served as a bench to sit upon, and as the inclosure of the Agora of Mycenæ. He thinks that the first idea for the form of an Agora was given by the circular dances, (*κύκλιοι χοροί,*) and the recitation of the dithyrambs. The assembled people sat in a cir-

---

* "Mycenæ," p. 123.

cle, and the orator stood in the center, as we see in Homer and in Sophocles; and just in the center of this inclosure at Mycenæ I found a rock forming a slight elevation, which might well have served as the platform (*βῆμα*) from which the speakers addressed those sitting on the circular bench.*

As in the case of many another anticipated discovery, it is really surprising how much confirmatory evidence, previously unnoticed, turns up. We may pass by the incidental references made by the later poets and tragedians to the *circular* shape of the Agora and the bench surrounding, as of less importance in establishing the pre-Homeric conditions, and take but one out of many passages of Homer himself upon which a flood of light is thrown by Dr. Schliemann's discovery. On one of the compartments of the Shield of Achilles, the divine artificer wrought a marvelously graphic picture of an *agora*, the scene of a judicial trial before the elders of the city, (Iliad, xviii, 497–508:)—

Λαοὶ δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἀθρόοι· ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος, κ. τ. λ.

"Meanwhile a multitude
Was in the *forum*, where a strife went on—
Two men contending for a fine, the price
Of one who had been slain. Before the crowd
One claimed that he had paid the fine, and one
Denied that aught had been received, and both
Called for the sentence which should end the strife.
The people clamored for both sides, for both
Had eager friends; the heralds held the crowd
In check; *the elders, upon polished stones,*
Sat in a sacred circle. Each one took,
In turn, a herald's scepter in his hand,
And, rising, gave his sentence. In the midst
Two talents lay in gold, to be the meed
Of him whose juster judgment should prevail."

We have used Bryant's rendering because, although slightly inaccurate in one or two points, it expresses the meaning of the—

οἱ δὲ γέροντες
εἵατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ

better than the "On polished chairs, in solemn circle," etc., of Derby, or "On chairs of polished stone, ranged in venerable circle," etc., of Gladstone. Evidently Homer had such a locality as that of Mycenæ in his mind's eye when composing

---

* "Mycenæ," p. 125.

these verses, with the elders seated on the bench around a clear space, where the herald moved about from one to the other, holding the scepter or staff; where, also, the prosecutor and defendant stood with the gold lying between them. Only around the circle, which was more properly a *βουλευτήριον* in the midst of a larger *agora*, there were broader spaces than at Mycenæ, spaces which were, on the occasion of the trial, crowded with partisans of either side of the quarrel.

The "circular agora" contained, however, yet greater wonders within its bounds, and a store not merely of antiquarian wealth, but of actual precious metal such as the most excited imagination could not have figured to itself. Far down below the surface, at depths varying from about twenty-five to thirty-five feet, Dr. Schliemann discovered five *tombs*, the contents of which compare with the most valuable of treasures coming down to us from antiquity, and quite cast into the shade even the famous "Treasury of Priam," the wonder and admiration of the readers of "Troy and its Remains." A brief description is all that we can here give, referring for further information to the very full account in the volume before us, and especially to the magnificent illustrations it gives of almost every object discovered.

Each of the five tombs had been dug through the earth, and a short distance, sometimes even as much as fifteen or eighteen feet in the underlying rock. They were all quadrangular, and of considerable dimensions: the first, twenty-one feet five inches long by ten feet four inches broad; the second, twenty-one feet three inches (nineteen feet eight inches on the opposite side) by eleven feet eight inches; the third, sixteen feet eight inches by ten feet two inches; the fourth, twenty-four feet by eighteen and a half feet; and the fifth, eleven and a half feet by nine feet eight inches. In all but the last the four sides had been lined with walls (in three, by *slanting* walls) of stone; in the case of the last, and smallest, there was merely a lining of large pieces of schist placed in a slanting position against the low border of the tomb. Upon the bottom, in every tomb, there was first a layer of pebbles; resting upon these were human bodies that have evidently (as proved by the calcined condition of the pebbles, the smoke upon the walls, etc.) been burned on the very spot; though the fire does

not appear to have been hot enough to reduce them to ashes, but only to burn off their clothing and slightly affect their metallic ornaments. In the five tombs there were altogether fifteen bodies, three in each of the first three, five in the fourth, and only one in the fifth. Those in the third tomb, Dr. Schliemann supposes, from the profusion of jewelry, to have been bodies of women. All the bodies were buried with the head to the east, with the exception of *two* of the five in the large "fourth" tomb, for which room could not be obtained in that way, and which were, consequently, placed with their heads to the north. All the bodies were, of course, reduced to such a condition that, whatever bones remained quickly disintegrated on exposure to the air, although of one a species of mummy, hideous enough no doubt, has been obtained by the speedy application of a solution of gum-sandarac in alcohol. By the immense pressure upon these remains, continuing for so long a period, even the best preserved of the bodies had been reduced to a thickness of only an inch, or an inch and a half!

In honor of the illustrious dead, their corpses were laid out, or rather laden, with a mass of precious utensils and ornaments[*] that is unexampled in the case of any tomb opened in recent times, whether in Greece, Italy, or elsewhere. And yet these sepulchers had (with the exception to be immediately noted) remained inviolate, in the midst of the poverty of the present inhabitants of this portion of Argolis, for thousands of years—an advantage assuredly due to no other cause than the utter ignorance of the fact of their existence. Of the fifteen skeletons, only one had ever been tampered with; namely, the middle one of the first tomb. This one was found to have been stripped of most of its ornaments, while those in immediate proximity on the right and left had not been touched. Dr. Schliemann comes to the conclusion, from an examination, that it had been reached by making a shaft directly down, and that the deed was perpetrated before the destruction of the city in 6 B. C. The haste of the rob-

---

[*] The total weight of the gold objects found in the five tombs is stated by Mr. Gladstone, in the preface, p. xxxvi, and by the index, p. 379, at about one hundred pounds Troy weight, or nearly that of five thousand British sovereigns (say $24,000 to $25,000!)

bers is evidenced by the fact that they left so much booty behind them, scattering many gold buttons, etc., through the earth with which they refilled the excavation. About one half of the corpses had their faces covered and protected by "massive" masks of gold, of which not less than seven were found, all of them but one much injured by the pressure of the superincumbent earth. One seems to have been a child's mask, though of other traces of the burial of the child there were none. Another had a lion's face, according to Dr. Schliemann, though, it must be confessed, the resemblance is difficult to make out in the plate on page 211, and Dr. Schliemann admits that "at first sight its engraving resembles more a jacket than any thing else; but, on closer examination, we find that it represents a lion's head, whose ears and eyes are distinctly seen." Page 222. The other five are men's faces. Dr. Schliemann believes them likenesses of the wearers, and is astonished that any goldsmiths could have been obtained at Mycenæ able to execute them in the brief interval allowed to elapse in Greece and other warm countries between death and interment. There is this to be said in favor of the theory that they were portraits: each differs from the rest, and there is nothing conventional in their treatment. On the other hand, they are by no means handsome. Only one (that on page 289, and marked "Massive Golden Mask of the body at the south end of the First Sepulcher") presents a really heroic cast of countenance. It has well-marked features, clear cut eyebrows, a long, straight nose, compressed lips, indicative of great decision, and a full beard. Some of the dead had also "ornamented *breast covers* of massive gold." One of these (see plate on page 301) measures one foot nine inches in length by one foot two and three fifths inches. Upon and about the dead were great numbers of gold "plates" of various sizes, particularly over the supposed women of the third tomb, where there were not less than seven hundred and one collected. Many of these are of exquisite execution in *repoussé* work, as may be judged from the eight splendid samples on pages 166–169. Then there were quantities of "leaves," "buttons," "stars," etc., of the same material. These are thought to have been intended, at least in part, to be fastened to the dress by glue, or otherwise. In some of the sepulchers, along

with great and costly goblets, and other vessels of gold and silver, caldrons of bronze, etc., there were swords of copper, or bronze, a golden "telamon," or sword-strap, and rows of graduated gold disks, lying in a row, where they had been left, when the wooden and perishable sheath, which they had undoubtedly adorned, rotted away and disappeared. Nor ought the really splendid "diadems" and "crowns," in some cases placed upon the dead, to be omitted from this very imperfect enumeration. That on page 185 was a little over two feet in length, and six inches broad immediately above the forehead, highly wrought with shield-like ornaments, and provided with a singular fringe, or border, of gold leaves of many different patterns.

It is important to notice that on not a single object was a trace of writing of any kind to be found—not even such rudimentary writing as was discovered at Troy. Thus a civilization is revealed so far like that portrayed in the Iliad and Odyssey, that it possessed in a very high degree the arts of working in the precious metals, in ivory, in bronze, in rock-crystal, etc. The story of Vulcan's skill in the fabrication of the famous shield appearing not to be altogether a poetical invention, but the reproduction, possibly on a grander scale, of what the poet was really familiar with. At the same time, the remains of Mycenæ agree with the poems in the total absence of indications of literary culture among the heroes.

As to the *progress* indicated by the remains, some interesting facts come to light. The vexed question respecting the true meaning of the Homeric *chalcos* is answered by the statement that the term covered both *copper* and *bronze*; for while the weapons and a few of the vases contained as large a proportion as from ten to thirteen per cent. of tin, doubtless with a view to strength, the kettles and other domestic utensils had a mere trace of tin, and were almost pure copper. (P. 367.) Copper was employed, also, as a medium in plating. Being apparently unacquainted with any method of overlaying silver directly with gold, the artisans of Mycenæ were wont to put a coating of copper upon a silver base and then impose the gold upon this. (P. 158, *et al.*) We say the artisans of *Mycenæ*, for there is every reason to think that the work which is revealed to us in the contents of the five tombs of the agora (as well as in

the less important tomb just south of it, described in the last chapter of the book,) is of native origin. The proofs are numerous. One is the total absence of any marked resemblance to the manufactures of Egypt, Assyria, India, or any other part of the Oriental world. It can be shown clearly that, though there is in the rudimentary stage of art all over the world a certain vague likeness, neither in the architectonics and works of plastic art of Mycenæ with which we have been long acquainted, (such as the Treasury of Atreus or the lions above the great gate of the city,) nor in the recently discovered treasures, are there any distinctive marks of a community of origin. A second proof is obtained in the numerous *molds* that have come to light, in which various articles were cast, conclusively pointing to a manufacture of such objects upon the spot. * A third, we think, can certainly be traced in the absence, already referred to, of any form of alphabetic writing. As it is almost incredible that the Mycenean tombs can boast of an origin more remote than that of the extant monuments of Egypt and Assyria, and as we know the fondness of the Egyptians and other peoples of the East for inscribing their works with characters, hieroglyphic, cuneiform, etc., it would have been almost a miracle had the Mycenean gold and silver ware been imported, and yet not a single goblet, vase, or gem of the thousands here unearthed contain a letter to disclose the foreign derivation of the whole or the greater part of the treasure.

The truth is, that we have in the works found in the agora of Mycenæ an entirely new and consistent *school of art*, and one that will require and repay study. And in this we find a fourth and most conclusive demonstration of the domestic origin of the treasure. Dr. Schliemann has, for instance, much to say respecting the *spiral* designs so frequently met with, but he has not, we think, turned these to the use of which

---

* Besides the molds, there are also objects identically the same, which were manifestly cast in molds. As, for instance, among the ornaments found in the fourth tomb was a well executed representation of the *sepia*, or cuttle-fish, two inches and a half in length, (illustration on p. 268.) Fifty-three copies were collected in this single tomb. "All these fifty-three *sepias* are perfectly alike, and have a curious ornamentation in relief representing spirals; all their arms are likewise curved into spiral forms. . . . All appear to have been cast in the same mold, otherwise their *perfect* resemblance is inexplicable." Dr. Schliemann believes that these ornaments were fastened to clothes and drapery.

they are susceptible as corroborative of the native origin of the articles they adorn. This is, of course, a subject which it is very difficult to enter into without the aid of pictorial representation. But this can be said, that probably nowhere have any works of art come to light in the decoration of which spiral lines enter so largely. They are here a specialty. Elsewhere they are occasional, here they are constant. We find them in the greatest variety, and from the simplest curve to the most intricate and labyrinthine maze, in stone, terra-cotta, silver and gold, upon vases, "disks," "plates," and numberless other objects. It is a common type and marks a common tendency. Take, moreover, one of the most curiously formed of these spiral decorations, in which we have several parallel rows, each composed of a series of volutes, and each volute ingeniously connected with all the volutes in its neighborhood, above, below, and on either side. Now we find this volute, for example, executed in *intaglio* on a gold plate found in the "first tomb." (Illustration on p. 311.) We find identically the same ornamental spirals doubly executed in *repoussé* work upon a large gold cup found in the same tomb, (illustration on p. 314,) slightly modified on the breast-cover of massive gold placed on one of the dead in the same, (illustration on p. 301,) and exactly reproduced on one of the three "tombstones" which stood over the "first tomb." (Illustration on p. 80.) Now, if it were supposable that the various movable objects of gold had been imported from some other country, being the fruit of Assyrian or other foreign art, it would be absurd to imagine the same to be true respecting a ponderous slab of stone about four feet square and six inches thick, which, if we mistake not, is evidently of the native calcareous stone, of the neighborhood of Mycenæ, and probably from the same quarries with the slabs of the circular seat of the *agora*.

In view of this distinctly marked *native* character, as well as for other reasons, the theory propounded by Professor Forchhammer has an appearance of baseless hypothesis. He maintains that the antiquities discovered at Mycenæ represent neither early Greek nor any pre-Hellenic barbarous art, but Persian, it may be Assyrian, Babylonian, and Bactrian, workmanship.

In order to explain the exceptional mode of burial and the extraordinary amount of treasure stowed away in the tombs, he

supposes that the skeletons found by Dr. Schliemann are those of generals killed during the siege of Mycenæ and hastily interred within the walls. The treasure itself he traces to the battle of Platæa. Though as early as the Homeric poems Mycenæ was called a rich town, yet such treasures as were found in the tombs by Dr. Schliemann were probably, as Dr. Forchhammer surmises, the booty of the Persian war. That booty was immense, and after it had been tithed for the Olympian Zeus, the Delphic Apollo, and the Isthmian Poseidon, all the rest, women, gold, silver, precious objects, and animals, was divided equally among those who had taken part in the war. It was only eleven years before the siege of Mycenæ that its share of the Persian millards had been deposited within its walls. Nothing, therefore, seems more natural than that, during the siege and previous to the surrender, they should have hidden their treasure in the tombs in which the bodies of their leaders had been deposited, and where, unknown to the enemy, they might have been recovered, unless all had been buried beneath the ruins of the town.*

So wild a theory scarcely deserves serious discussion. Discarding all the evidence the remains themselves afford, and basing his conclusions so little upon the criteria of art that he is uncertain to which one of a number of totally distinct schools he shall assign them, Professor Forchhammer offers a solution which has not a particle of proof in its favor, and than which a more improbable one could hardly be imagined. Not to speak of other difficulties, there is the insuperable objection that not only is there no relic whatever among the treasures, or in the earth heaped upon them at the time, that can be shown to belong to the first half of the fifth century before the Christian era, but not even a trace of alphabetic writing then in common use every-where.

It seems, then, to us to be incontrovertible that the treasures of art discovered by Dr. Schliemann (the authenticity and antiquity of which, as unearthed in the presence of a large number of learned men from the not far distant city and university of Athens, are established beyond question) belong necessarily to a period anterior to the destruction of Mycenæ in B. C. 468. It is equally clear that they belong to the *flourishing* period in Mycenæ's history, that is, to the period closing with the time of Orestes, or at least with the Dorian invasion; not to the period between that invasion and B. C. 468. During this last period we have no reason to suppose that Mycenæ

---

* Summary in "New York Tribune" of June 18, 1878.

was wealthy, as we know that it was shorn of its political influence. But before the Dorian invasion, we are equally certain that it enjoyed the reputation of being among the most prosperous of capitals. The only two cities to which Homer applies the term "*polychrysos*," "abounding in gold," are Troy and Mycenæ, and by both it was, as the recent excavations prove, equally deserved. We say *equally*, because we do not forget that, as Mr. Gladstone well remarks, we are comparing Troy in its exhaustion (at the close of a protracted war) with Mycenæ in its prosperity. (Preface, p. xvii.)

The dynasty of the Atreidæ, or if we will of the Pelopidæ, the only dynasty respecting whose history we have some slight data, and these possibly, even probably, much distorted by the poetical traditions through which they have come down to us, is the approximate period of the remains. They can hardly have been later, they need not be supposed much older. It would, indeed, have been strange had any other age in the city's existence than that of Agamemnon or his immediate descendants been able to boast the possession of such almost fabulous wealth, that the fragment of it (for such we must suppose it to have been) buried with the bodies of a few illustrious corpses should fill us with amazement.

Can we go further, and fix with a good measure the certainty of the very persons to whom these sepulchers belong? Dr. Schliemann thinks we can. His view, in brief, is this: Pausanias mentions five[*] monuments as having been pointed out to him, within the walls. The context of the passage shows clearly that previous geographical and topographical writers were mistaken in understanding by these walls the fortifications of the lower city; it establishes conclusively that Pausanias referred to the inclosure of the *Acropolis*, this being the wall containing the Lion's Gate. Clytæmnestra and Ægisthus, for their crimes, were deemed unworthy of burial in the same place, and were, therefore, interred outside.[†] Now, just inside

---

[*] The number, however, is doubtful, for Pausanias does not enumerate clearly. If the reference to Electra is authentic, there would seem to have been *six* tombs: 1. Atreus. 2. Cassandra. 3. Agamemnon. 4. Eurymedon. 5. Electra. 6. Cassandra's twin children, Teledamus and Pelops.

[†] May not the use of the comparative ἀπωτέρω indicate that their monuments were somewhat further removed from the gate *without* than the other monuments were *within*?

of the Lions' Gate we have discovered five sepulchers, the occupants of which are proved to have been personages of high rank and distinction, not only from the immense treasure buried with them, but from the sepulchers being situated within the inclosure of the circular seat of the *agora.*[*] Must not these have been the tombs to which Pausanias refers? It is true that the tombs themselves, the *stelai*, or tombstones, that stood over four of them, the sacrificial altar over the remaining one, (the fourth tomb, p. 213, and plate F,) and even the circular seat of the *agora*, must have been long since covered up from sight, when Pausanias visited the ruins, and he could have seen nothing of them. But their sites had been carefully handed down, and were pointed out to the indefatigable topographer.[†]

On this point we must let Dr. Schliemann speak for himself:

> I have not the slightest objection to admit that the tradition which assigns the tombs in the Acropolis to Agamemnon and his companions, who on their return from Ilium were treacherously murdered by Clytæmnestra or her paramour, Ægisthus, may be perfectly correct and faithful. I am bound to admit this so much the more, as we have the certainty that, to say the least, all the bodies in one tomb had been buried simultaneously. The calcined pebbles below each of them, the marks of the fire to the right and left in the internal wall of the tomb, the undisturbed state of the ashes, and the charred wood on and around the bodies, give us the most unmistakable proofs of this fact. Owing to the enormous depths of these sepulchers, and the close proximity of the bodies to each other, it is quite impossible that three or even five funeral piles could have been dressed at different intervals of time in the same tomb.
>
> The identity of the mode of burial, the perfect similarity of all the tombs, their very close proximity, the impossibility of admitting that three or even five royal personages of immeasurable wealth, who had died a natural death at long intervals of time, should have been huddled together in the same tomb, and, finally,

---

[*] At Megara Pausanias distinctly states the tombs of heroes to have been within the place for council, or *bouleuterion*, saying: "Here they built the place for council, in order that they might have the tomb of the heroes within the place for council." The *bouleuterion* in Megara, as elsewhere always, must have been in the *agora*. ("Mycenæ," p. 126.) We may add that if, as Dr. Schliemann thinks, the circular seat of the *agora* at Mycenæ was built subsequently to the tombs, (p. 340,) then the builders did precisely what the Megarians did, and, doubtless, for the same reason.

[†] "Mycenæ," p. 343.

> the great resemblance of all the ornaments, which show exactly the same style of art and the same epoch, all these facts are so many proofs that all the twelve men, three women, and perhaps two or three children, had been murdered simultaneously and burned at the same time.
>
> The veracity of the tradition seems further to be confirmed by the deep veneration which the Mycenæns, and in fact the inhabitants of the whole Argolid, have always shown for these five sepulchers. The funeral pyres were not yet extinguished when they were covered with a layer of clay, and then with a layer of pebbles, on which the earth was thrown at once. To this circumstance chiefly are we indebted for the preservation of so large a quantity of wood and the comparatively good preservation of the bodies; for in no instance were the bones consumed by the fire, and on several bodies, which were covered with golden masks and thick breastplates, even much of the flesh had remained. The site of each tomb was carefully marked by tombstones, and when these had been covered by the dust of ages and had disappeared, fresh tombstones were erected on the new level, but precisely over the spot where the ancient memorials lay buried. Only on the large fourth sepulcher with the five bodies instead of new tombstones, a sacrificial altar of almost circular form was built.*

Dr. Schliemann finds it necessary to answer the natural objection that the five sepulchers cannot contain the bodies of Agamemnon and his followers, because these were killed by their enemies, and it is inconceivable that either Ægisthus or Clytæmnestra would have buried them or suffered them to be buried with such immense treasures. In answering the objection, he also adduces what he believes to be indications of the *ignominy* dictated by hatred in the mode of the interment:—

> This objection falls to the ground before the testimony of Homer, that even he who killed his enemy burned him in his full armor, with all his weapons. Thus, for example, Andromache says to Hector: (Iliad, vi, 413, 419:)—
>
> . . . "Father I have none,
> Nor honored mother; for divine Achilles
> My father slew, and sacked Cilician Thebes,
> Fair-peopled city of the lofty gates.
> Yet stript he not Eëtion of his arms,
> Through the restraint of a religious awe,
> But, burning him with all his panoply,
> Heaped high his tomb."—*J. C. Wright.*
>
> That it was the custom in the heroic age to bury the dead with those objects which had been dear to them in life is further

---

* "Mycenæ," pp. 336, 337.

> proved by Homer, where the soul of Elpenor begs Ulysses to bury his body with his weapons, and to erect a mound over him. . . . It would therefore appear that, in burying the fifteen royal personages with immense treasures, the murderers merely acted according to an ancient custom, and consequently only fulfilled a sacred duty.
>
> On the other hand, the usage of the age appears to have left the murderers at full liberty regarding the form of the sepulchers and the mode of the burial, *which were consequently as ignominious as possible.* The graves were merely deep, irregular, quadrangular holes, into which the royal victims were huddled by three and even by five, and on the bottom of which they were burned, but each separately, so that their bones might not be mixed together.*

The author proceeds to corroborate this most extraordinary notion of "ignominy" by a reference to "the five immense and magnificent treasuries," (including the well known "Treasury of Atreus,") in the lower city and in the suburb, all of which must necessarily be more ancient than the five royal tombs in the Acropolis:—

> If we reflect that princes, who used such magnificent underground palaces as storehouses of their wealth, should have been *huddled away like impure animals into miserable holes,* we find in this *ignominious burial* alone a powerful argument in favor of the veracity of the tradition which points to these sepulchers as those of the king of men, Agamemnon, and his companions, who on their return from Ilium were treacherously murdered by Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra.†

We must confess that this looks too much like special pleading, and gives the impression that almost any act in the solemn putting of the dead out of our sight might, on the same principles, be interpreted as a mark of disrespect. Mr. Gladstone finds special marks of disrespect in connection with "the staggering fact that the bodies of full grown and apparently (p. 295) tall men have been forced into a space of only five feet six inches in length, so as to require that sort of compression which amounts almost to mutilation!" How inconclusive all such arguments are is shown by the very easy and rational explanation of this last and apparently damaging circumstance suggested by an acute writer in "The Nation." ‡ The "first" tomb, the bottom of which as cut in the rock is

---

* "Mycenæ," pp. 344–5. † *Ibid.*, p. 345. ‡ No. 659, Feb. 14, 1878.

about twenty-one and a half feet by eleven and a half, or somewhat larger than at the top, is narrowed by a *lining*, in the shape of a wall three feet high and two feet broad. Upon this was placed a slanting wall of schist plates joined with clay, which reached to a height of six and a half feet, and projected on all sides a foot beyond the wall. In this way the length of the tomb at the bottom for practical purposes was but fifteen and a half feet, and the breadth five and a half.[*] The three bodies could not have been laid lengthwise. They were laid crosswise at a respectable distance from each other; but the charge is that they were treated "in strange and indecent fashion," because their tall stature was compressed within such brief compass as five and a half feet! But the writer in "The Nation" justly asks whether it is probable "that Clytæmnestra would have had these stone walls, about sixty-six feet long, built around a tomb merely for the purpose of adding a last insult to her royal husband by squeezing his head between his shoulders. The fact is that no probable reason has been advanced for the construction of this very peculiar slanting wall in not less than four out of five tombs, except that it was intended to support the remains of the royal dead, who were for *dignity's* sake raised up so as to appear to be *seated, and looking toward the west, in the direction of the Isles of the Blest*."[†] We ourselves know that even at the present time a similar motive dictates in Greece the carrying of a deceased bishop of the Orthodox Oriental Church, propped up in a sitting posture, through the streets of Athens leading to the cemetery beyond the Ilissus, and his burial *in the same posture, but looking eastward toward Jerusalem.* The supposition that the Mycenean heroes were buried in this honor-

---

[*] See "Mycenæ," p. 294.

[†] "It is now a remarkable coincidence," says the writer above quoted, "that thirteen of the fifteen bodies in these tombs were buried with their *feet to the west;* and it may have been a reason for elevating the head in burial that thus the hero was made to turn his face toward the west, that region of romance and hope, where were the 'Happy Isles,' which Hesiod makes the home appointed after death for the 'divine race of heroes who are called demigods,' the very race whose tombs have now been opened. 'These live, with minds free from cares, in the Islands of the Blest, by the deep-eddying ocean; happy heroes, for whom the fruitful earth thrice in the year bears in rich abundance its delicious fruits.'" (Hesiod, "Works and Days," 158, 172.)

able posture would account not only for the strange compression of the skeletons, "the head pressed in such a way on the breast that the upper part of the shoulders was nearly on a horizontal line with the vertex of the head;" but also for the fracture of the golden masks, evidently the result of pressure on the edge and not the front.

But while we cannot acquiesce in Dr. Schliemann's theory respecting the identity of the occupants of the tombs of the Mycenean *agora* as proven, neither do we feel warranted in rejecting it as either impossible or improbable. It is certainly a remarkable coincidence that these tombs have been discovered inside of the walls in which the Gate of Lions is embedded, and just about the spot where a careful reading of Pausanias (never over clear in his descriptions of localities) might have led us to expect them. The circumstance that not a single body, but ordinarily from three to five bodies, were buried together in one tomb, need not be regarded as indicating a discrepancy between the discoveries and Pausanias' account. It may well be that the marshals or heralds of Agamemnon would be buried on either side of him, as Mr. Gladstone suggests,* or the handmaidens of Electra be laid at her side. If it was to the Achæan mind somewhat indecorous to suppose that Penelope would descend alone from her apartments into the hall where the riotous suitors were drinking and listening to the lays of the minstrel, and so the poet makes her come

Οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῆγε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δυ' ἕποντο, †

why might not a primitive age place in the tomb of the great, and at their sides, the faithful attendants of their mortal existence, with the expectation that the same service would be continued in another world? Under any circumstances, however, neither Pausanias nor his informants would be likely to make mention of more than the principal persons interred, passing by those of less consequence.

Neither does it appear to be of much importance as affecting the identification of the tombs proposed by Dr. Schliemann, that the discovery of a *sixth* tomb is reported since the five described in this work. It is said to be situated on the western edge of the *agora*, (though the plan of the *agora* offers

---

* Preface, p. xxxi.

† "Odyssey," i, p. 331.

but scanty room for an additional tomb there,) and to be from its position the last made. Of the two skeletons found in it by Mr. Stamatakes, Superintendent of Antiquities, under whose supervision the excavation was made, one wore a gold mask, and "a beautiful little gold cup, quite modern in its make," was also obtained. The conclusion at which the correspondent of the "London Times" jumps, namely, that, inasmuch as the sixth tomb is plainly of the same age as the five previously discovered, the theory that these are the tombs assigned by Pausanias to Agamemnon and his companions must be brushed aside as untenable—this conclusion, we say, is rash, and indeed absurd. As we have seen, it is not clear but that the account of Pausanias calls for *six*, and not merely *five*, sepulchers. Besides which there is nothing in that account to show that it was, or was intended to be, exhaustive in its enumeration.

Dismissing this theory as one which we have not the materials either for definitely proving or decidedly refuting, we must say in conclusion that we rise from the perusal of Dr. Schliemann's sumptuous volume on Mycenæ with a very profound sense of the importance and scientific value of the magnificent results of his persevering efforts. Since the unearthing of Pompeii and Herculaneum no explorations have so enlarged our knowledge of classical archæology as these of Dr. Schliemann at Troy and Mycenæ. Such merited success on two fields has rarely befallen one man. While, therefore, the discoveries at Mycenæ have, perhaps, raised more questions than they have answered, and while the reconciliation between the civilization depicted by Homer and that here disclosed cannot yet be said to be fully made out, we feel that the world has gained much by the liberal and intelligent expenditure of time and money on the part of the enthusiastic German whom we, too, are proud to recognize under his favorite designation of "Citizen of the United States of America."

ART. IV.—PLAGIARISM AND THE LAW OF QUOTATION.

[SECOND PAPER.]

"Convey, the wise it call: Steal? foh! a fico [fig] for the phrase!"—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I, Scene 3.

SHERIDAN, who was born in 1751 and died in 1816, published a comedy, entitled "The Critic," in which we find the following: "Steal? to be sure they may, and, egad, serve your best thoughts as gypsies do stolen children—disfigure them to make 'em pass for their own." The priority of this just rebuke belongs, however, to Churchill, Sheridan's predecessor by some twenty years. Thus Churchill:—

> "Who to patch up his fame, or fill his purse,
> Still pilfers wretched palms, and makes them worse;
> Like gypsies, lest the stolen brat be known,
> Defacing first, then claiming for his own."

To those who steal after this fashion we commend the words of Milton: "For such kind of borrowing as this, if it be not bettered by the borrower, among good authors is accounted Plagiare." * Of such Samuel Butler said: "A literary plagiarist is like an Italian thief, who never robs but he murders to prevent discovery."

Some of our most distinguished novelists and poets, and even divines, seem to have a bad notoriety in this department of literary malpractice.† Charles Reade, it is said, stands upon the very apex of the pedestal of infamy in this regard. "Never Too Late to Mend" is culled from parliamentary blue books. "White Lies" is charged with being a double plagiarism from two French authors. It is also alleged that "Clouds and Sunshine" is from "Claudie," by George Sand. His "Wandering

---

* Iconoclast.

† In 1775 Dr. Samuel Johnson published his famous pamphlet on "Taxation no Tyranny," etc. "No sooner," says Wesley's last biographer, "was it issued than, with or without leave, Wesley abridged it, and, without the least reference to its origin, published it as his own, in a quarto sheet of four pages, with the title, 'A Calm Address to our American Colonies. By Rev. Mr. John Wesley, M.A. Price, one penny.' This was an injudicious and unwarrantable act, except on the supposition that there was some secret understanding between him and Johnson, and even then the thing had too much the aspect of plagiarism to be wise."—TYERMANN, vol. iii, p. 186.

Heir" we read in an old number of the "Gentleman's Magazine," and was in print, we imagine, before Mr. Reade was born. Many remember the immense sensation produced by the first appearance of "Griffith Gaunt." It was universally regarded as the masterpiece of its gifted author. It was extolled for its "freshness," its "frankness," and its "originality." It was spoken of as "delicious," as showing the author's "rare gift of creating!" Yet this model, so wonderful in its "originality," is charged with being a literary larceny, a double plagiary of the most barefaced kind.

A writer in "Frazer's Magazine" has shown, by a most formidable array of parallel passages, from "Tristram Shandy" on the one side and "The Caxtons" on the other, that Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton has scarcely a right to regard the latter work as his own at all. In view of the rank, of Sir Edward, and his literary celebrity, the writer asks, "If these things are done in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" and as though the Scriptures furnished him with the most forcible material for rebuke, he concludes by declaring himself in the dilemma of the patriarch—"*The words are the words of Sterne, but the voice is the voice of Bulwer.*" *

The most distinguished offenders against the laws of literary honesty have been men for whom no possible excuse can be framed. Disraeli once, with cutting satire, advised Sir Robert Peel to "stick to quotation," adducing as the reason that "he never quoted any passage that had not previously received the meed of parliamentary approbation." How strange that a satirist so subtle as Disraeli, with a pen of his own so facile and linked to such illimitable thought, should stoop so low that, when called upon for an eulogium of the Iron Duke, he should steal it ready-made from the pen of Thiers! If this had been the only theft, we might have supposed that he was the victim of the common carelessness which sometimes intends to

---

* "A great poet may really borrow; he may even condescend to an obligation at the hands of an equal or inferior; but he forfeits his title if he borrows more than the amount of his own possession. The nightingale himself takes somewhat of his song from birds less glorified; and the lark, having beaten with her wings the very gate of heaven, cools her breast among the grass. The lowlier of intellect may lay out a table in their field, at which table the highest one sometimes may be disposed to partake: want does not compel them. Imitation, as we call it, is often weakness, but it likewise is often sympathy."—LANDON.

give "honor to whom honor is due," but fails. In this case we fear it was a habit. A paper, from whose statements it were idle to appeal, says: "The right honorable gentleman has paid us the high compliment of printing as his own some striking reflections of a celebrated historian which originally appeared in this journal." The peroration of his speech on the third reading of the Corn Bill is a mere paraphrase of the concluding paragraph of Mr. Urquhart's "Diplomatic Transactions in Central Asia."

But few men have been supposed to be more original than Lord Brougham, yet Lord Melbourne says of one of his labored eulogiums on the virtue of justice, that it "was a most brilliant passage; *but he thought he had heard some of it before.* No doubt these were fine expressions, but they put him in mind, however, of Sheridan's celebrated eulogium on the liberty of the press; but they were by no means the worse for that." This criticism of Melbourne's is adduced by a writer in the "Examiner" as an illustration of the wit of the critic. "It is the *nonchalant*, easy tilt of the hilt dropping the man run through the body off ~~the~~ sword." A coarse antagonist would have pinned him; Lord Melbourne let him fall.

If we go a few steps higher upon the ladder of literary fame, it is only to breathe an air more heavily laden with the dust of plagiarism than that which irritated our literary nostrils on the lower rounds.

It was the opinion of Sir Walter Scott that Sterne owed much of his brilliancy to his petty pilferings from birds of much inferior feather. An acute critic, however, has shown that the pretended parallel passages are few in number, and many of them only elaborated hints. It is impossible to deny, however, that Sterne drew his learning from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," and not from the originals, and there are pages of his works belonging to other authors. The most remarkable theft is the complaint against copyists. It is singular that he should plagiarize an invective against plagiarism. An apologist has said: "The appropriation of three or four paragraphs without acknowledgment may detract from his candor, but not from his genius." We will admit his genius, but condemn his taste. It argues a sad perversion of genius that he should imitate the defects of Rabelais.

Le Sage's masterpiece, "Gil Blas," has been said to be an imitation. Voltaire asserted that it was translated or stolen from the Spanish of "Vincent Espinel," and the charge has been repeated by a Spanish Jesuit named Isla. But the Comte de Neuchâteaux, in a dissertation read before the French Academy in 1818, proves that the work named by Voltaire "bears no resemblance to 'Gil Blas,' either in subject, form, or style."

Moore, in his "Life of Byron," says that he observed a volume in his friend's gondola, with a number of papers marked between the leaves. "I inquired of him," he says, "what it was?" "Only a book," he answered, "from which I am trying to *crib*, as I do whenever I can; and this is the way I get the character of an original poet." On taking it up and looking at it, Moore exclaimed, "Ah, my friend Agatha!" "What!" cried Byron archly, "you have been beforehand with me there, have you?" In Moore's opinion, Byron, in imputing to himself premeditated plagiarism, was but jesting. Still, he was inclined to think that it was Byron's practice to thus excite his vein by the perusal of others on the same subject or plan, from which the slightest hint caught by his imagination, as he read, was sufficient to kindle there such a train of thought as, but for that spark, had never been awakened, and of which he himself soon forgot the source.*

Byron represents "Childe Harold," on leaving England, as singing this song:—

"Adieu! adieu! my native shore
  Fades o'er the waters blue;
The night-winds sigh, the breakers roar,
  And shrieks the wild sea-mew.
Yon sun that sets upon the sea
  We follow in his flight;
Farewell awhile to him and thee;
  My native land, good-night.

"A few short hours, and he will rise
  To give the morrow birth,
And I shall hail the main and skies,
  But not my mother earth.
Deserted is my own good hall,
  Its hearth is desolate;
Wild weeds are growing on the wall,
  My dog howls at the gate."

---

* See "Moore's Life of Byron," vol. iv.

The original of this is said to have been written by a poet named Wolfgang, and published by him in Munich in 1764. The first two verses of the given poem run as follows:—

"Leb wohl! leb wohl! mein Mutterland,
Gehült ins Blau der Luft;
Der Nachtwind seufst; von Ufer rauschts;
Die Mewe schwebt und ruft.
Die Sonne zieht nach Westen hin;
Sie sinkt an ihrer Pracht;
Wir folgen nach, und senden dir,
Geburtsland, gute Nacht.

"Nach wenig Stunden zeigt sie uns
Den Tag am Wellenrand,
Und Himmels glanz, und grüne See.
Nur nicht dem Mutterland.
Die Hall ist ode, und kalt der Herd,
Verlassen alles, und
Das Unkraut wachst am Gartenzaum,
Und trauernd heult mein Hund." *

It is embarrassing, when attempting to account for this wonderful similarity, to remember that Byron did not know a word of German. The English version, certainly, has the advantage, in a literary point of view, over its German rival.†

Macaulay, in his severe criticism of Montgomery's poem entitled "Satan," convicts the poet of the grossest plagiarism. An author could hardly be more terribly scathed than is this unfortunate, when the great essayist says of his writings that "they bear the same relation to poetry which a Turkey-carpet bears to a picture. There are colors in a Turkey-carpet out of which a picture might be made; there are words in Mr. Montgomery's poetry, which, when disposed in certain order and combinations, have made, and will again make, good poetry."

It had been affirmed of Dante "that he had borrowed much from Virgil. The fate of his suicides, for instance, is clearly taken from the Polydorus of the "Æneid." Some other features of the scenery of Inferno are also borrowed. Much of the "Vision" has been attributed to the "Somnium Scipionis"

---

* "Augsburg Gazette," quoted by "N. Y. Post."

† "Byron's 'Manfred' is 'Faust' in an English dress; his 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' is modeled after the 'Dunciad;' his 'Art of Poetry' is worked out of a suggestion made by Dr. Johnson; his 'Sardanapalus' is a shadow of Otho in 'Juvenal;' and his 'Don Juan,' a copy of the Page in 'The Marriage of Figaro.'"—*Anon.*

of Cicero. But by far the greater has been credited to the "Vision" of Alberico, a monk, who two hundred years before had seemed to behold the mysteries of the future world."* †

Dismissing poets and essayists, how is it in regard to theologians and divines? Surely their robes are kept immaculate! The mud and mire of petty pilfering can hardly be found clinging to their sacerdotal skirts! Alas, charity compels us, so far as the living are concerned, to follow the example of Shem and Japheth, and, gathering up all the garments our hands can hold, (a single garment in this case would be useless,) go in backward. The disreputable practice of purloining for the pulpit is comparatively a modern vice. In Cowper's day, however, there were those whose business it was to

> "transform old print
> To zigzag manuscript, and cheat the eyes
> Of gallery critics by a thousand arts."

A humorist, contemporary with Cowper, in a few keen lines has hit off a practice more reprehensible, if possible, than the stealing of sermons in their entirety:—

> "Such is a sermon, the whole confusedly dark,
> Join Hoadly, Sharp, South, Sherlock, Wake, and Clarke.
> So eggs of different parishes will run
> To batter, when you beat six yolks to one;
> So six bright chymic liquors, if you mix,
> In one dark shadow vanish all the six."

---

* Methodist Quarterly Review, 1852, p. 65.

† "Shakspeare was in a certain sense a plagiarist. He borrowed the witches' incantation bodily from Middleton; the description of Cleopatra's barge, and many other passages, from Plutarch. Sheridan was in a similar sense a plagiarist, and borrowed with an unsparing hand, as Molière declares he also did, whenever he found any thing which could be useful."—*Anon.*, (*N. Y. Sun*, Sept. 2, 1878.) The writer of the above gives Boucicault, a living dramatist, credit for having written eight out of the four hundred plays he has published; "the remaining three hundred and ninety-two are borrowed (?) more or less, generally more." Though he does not create—only reflect—the public condone the offense. "What the critics and the public object to is not the snatching of a bright skein of silk thread and weaving it into the piece, but stealing the piece and calling it your own when you contribute only the skein."

Holmes, when charged with stealing the idea of his "Two Streams," says: "I found the image running loose in my mind without a halter. It suggested itself as an image of the will, and I worked out the poem by the aid of Mitchell's School Atlas." He gives it as his opinion that "the spores of a great many ideas are floating about in the atmosphere," and that "we no more know where all the

It has been shown most conclusively that Sydney Smith, so far as his sermons are concerned, was an unblushing plagiarist. With him theology was an uncongenial study. The author of the brilliant articles in the Edinburgh Review and the pungent Plymley Letters cannot be suspected of lacking the intellectual qualifications for sermon-writing. It was sheer distaste and laziness. The sermons of Dr. Barrow, which he drew upon more largely than upon any others, he most shamefully mutilated. He gave, according to an acute writer in the Christian Observer, who has carefully collated and compared the stolen passages, "not the full feast of that magnificent purveyor, but a few scraps of his dainties, and the washing of his dishes." It is some slight mitigation of the offense, which in his case "smells so rank," that the sermons from which the plagiarized extracts are taken are posthumous. It is to be presumed that, though he preached stolen sermons, he never designed to have them published.

In an exhaustive sketch of the "Life of Professor George Lawson," Professor Edward A. Park, of Andover, after acknowledging with most refreshing *naïvete* that he had borrowed from Dr. Mac Farlane "a large part of his biographical essay, makes, on the authority of the author to whom he is so largely indebted, the following terrible charge: "A living (in 1842) and distinguished American commentator has, in his exposition of the Book of Genesis, made a most unwarrantable use of Dr. Lawson's 'Lectures on Joseph.' From the thirty-seventh chapter to the end of Genesis a large portion is plagiarized from the Scotch expositor—we should say to the extent of two thirds of the whole. Dr. Lawson's Lectures are published in two volumes, and matter to the extent of one of these is thus appropriated. . . . There has been a similar robbery committed lately by one of our best *English* divines in a recent publication on the Book of Proverbs. Page upon page is taken from Lawson, with only the most meager acknowledgment."

Now, "distinguished American commentators" are not so common that there need be much difficulty in determining to whom this terrific charge applies. We are sure that we are

growths of our mind come from, than where the lichens which eat the names off the gravestones borrowed the germs that gave them birth."—*Soundings from the Atlantic*, p. 73.

justified in putting in a disclaimer for the commentators of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We defend no other.

It is somewhat remarkable, to say the least, that on the subject of quotations we have not as yet any universally acknowledged code—no law enunciated by a writer of acknowledged established reputation—to direct and guide us, and setting forth the penalties that ought to be inflicted for infractions of the law. On subjects near akin to the one we discuss, there is, perhaps, no safer authority than Bautain. He says: "When you have to speak upon a subject already treated by several authors, you must carefully cull their justest and most striking thoughts, analyze and sift these with critical discernment and penetration, then fuse them in your own alembic by a powerful synthetic operation, which, rejecting whatever is heterogeneous, collects and kneads whatever is homogeneous or amalgamable, and fashions forth a complex idea that shall assume consistency, unity, and color in the understanding by the very heat of the mind's labor."

In the absence of an authoritative code we venture to suggest some things which we think it should embrace.

Quotations are usually either *Direct* or *Indirect.* Direct are those purporting to be transcribed from the author. They should be—

1. *Ad verbum et ad literam.* In every case they should be indicated by the established typographical marks known as inverted commas (" ".) These marks should be repeated or continued through every new paragraph.

2. *The source of the quotation should always be acknowledged so plainly that there can be no mistake as to its author.* How far it is allowable to say, "As a distinguished writer has said," "To use the language of one whose authority cannot be disputed," "We agree with one whose eloquence is only surpassed by his astuteness," etc., etc., is no open question. If an author is worthy of such allusions he is deserving of having his name given, instead of being ceremoniously dismissed with a few scraps of circumlocutory compliment. If neglect in this particular is going to rob the author of any fame to which he is justly entitled, the neglect does him a great wrong, and for that wrong no fulsomeness of impersonal allusion can ever atone.

The relation of master and disciple is no justification for the

neglect of this rule. It cannot even be used as a plea in extenuation. If we have been led by the hand of a master, be he professor, author, or public teacher of any kind, into any hitherto unexplained or imperfectly explored realm of doctrine or thought, we should not be ashamed to mention his name with becoming deference and honor. If we find laurels in this newly explored land, our first duty is to weave a chaplet out of the freshest, brightest leaves, and place them with suitable ceremony on our master's brow. Not to do this is not only to act ungracefully, but to involve ourselves in the guilt of ingratitude.

In Chambers' "Papers for the People" a writer entitles his paper, "Heyne: A Biography;" and, after fourteen pages of closely printed matter, he says in a foot-note: "The facts of the preceding narrative are derived from Professor Heeren's 'Life of Heyne;' and some of the translated passages have been taken from an article on Heyne in 'Carlyle's Miscellanies,' which has also in other respects been serviceable to the writer." This is the most heroic and consistent form of acknowledging indebtedness we have met with in our reading.

3. *The quotation must be accurate.* The omission of a word, a letter, or pointing, even, may pervert or destroy the sense.

As we were writing this article we paused to attend a meeting for prayer. At this meeting a brother dared to tell the Almighty that he had said in his "blessed word," that "praying breath was never spent in vain." As a sentiment the quotation was good, but as a quotation it was impossible to verify it.* Only a few days ago the writer was asked, by one who claimed great familiarity with the Scriptures, "in which part of Paul's Epistles could be found the verse, 'Cleanliness is next to godliness?'" Aside from the Bible—a book more often misquoted, perhaps, than any other—there are literary apothegms, which have been so cruelly treated that they cease to have "form or comeliness."

Historians tell us that at Waterloo the Imperial Guard when called upon to surrender declared, "*La garde meurt et on est rend pas;*" and after this fashion the reply will be quoted

---

* The writer heard a colored brother at the South quote as from the Bible the title of a novel: "As the good Master says, Love me little, love me long."

through all literature, despite Victor Hugo's terser, and, without doubt, more truthful version. There was nothing so melodramatic uttered as the historian affirms; Victor Hugo says that "Cambronne answered, '*Merde.*'" And it is not unlikely that he did.

This is out of our province, however. It is more germane to our purpose to recall a quotation persistently attributed to Buffon: "*Le style c'est l'homme.*" He never uttered any such absurdity. In his "*Discours de reception a l'Academie,*" he did say, "*Le style est de l'homme,*" in which he teaches that all a man has of personal property in literature is his style. To say style is *of* the man is a very different thing from what the careless copyist affirms.

The verification of a quotation is the only way to guard against errors. It involves no small labor at times, but in no other way can correctness be guaranteed. Memory fails. Popular current quotations are often wrong. Pages might be filled with suitable examples. Shakspeare is not even safe in careless hands. A professional writer quotes him thus:—

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the *rise*, leads on to fortune."

A usually well edited journal gives this as the last verse of Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner:"—

"He prayeth best who loveth best
All things, both great and small;
For the *great* God, who loveth us,
He made and *loved them all.*"

This is not the *last* verse, but the last but two; and Coleridge really said:—

"For the *dear* God, who loveth us,
He made and *loveth all.*"

4. *In making quotations for controversial purposes for proof or confirmation, it is not enough that isolated passages are taken. Care must be taken to insure a fair presentation of the author's views.* Literary morality forbids our building arguments on detached passages—isolated lines. If that were allowable, it is well known that even the devout theist might be quoted as affirming the boldest atheism. No quotation must be made that does, by its separation, violence to the context. An author is only fairly quoted when the selected passage is in accordance

with the general tenor of the work quoted from. Of course, when quotations are made for the purpose of demonstrating a writer's inconsistency or contradictions, a fragment may be placed alongside of another fragment.

5. *It is not trivial to say that the author's punctuation must be honored.* The omission or transposition of a comma may alter or destroy the sense.

6. Nor is it trifling to say that *no italicization should be employed which has not the authority of the author.* We question the right to do this even when it is only intended to indicate the passage to be subjected to subsequent review. It is giving emphasis where the author intended none. Passages desired for special investigation can be requoted—then to italicize or capitalize them would be a matter of taste, within the domain of the quoter's rights.

INDIRECT quotations are made often by a mere exercise of the memory. They should, 1, *In every case be announced as such.*

An indirect quotation is often a re-quotation, or a quotation that has been made by another. Then, 2, *The name of the original quoter should be honored.* It must be said, "Cicero, as quoted by Martial, says." This rule, of course, does not apply to those multitudinous proverbial quotations which have become the common currency of the race, and whose image and superscription is so patent that it is pedantry to proclaim their source. To be sure, there must be exceptions. Men have been met with who have been disappointed in the plays of Shakspeare. "I was told," said one, "that Shakspeare was a man of original genius; whereas, the play consisted to a great extent of *the most hackneyed quotations.*" If we write for the instruction of such men—men who know nothing at all, either of literature or any thing else—then we must do as does the school-boy artist. We must put labels upon our handiwork, never forgetting to say where it can be appropriately said, "This a cow."

Quotations from the classics, or from standard poets, need no label. Scholars recognize and admire them by a kind of literary instinct. Kennedy in his "Life of Wirt" says: "In the company of men of letters there is no higher accomplishment than that of readily making an apt quotation from the classics;

and before such a body as the Supreme Court these quotations are not only appropriate, but constitute a beautiful aid to argument."—Vol. ii, p. 382.

To use with skill any exhumed "fossils of thought," so that they shall be ornamental to the literary edifice we may be building, requires genius of no inferior grade. We have quailed before quotations as ill-suited to the work they were employed to embellish as the obelisks and sphinxes of Egypt would be in ornamenting a shanty in Mackerelville or a cabin in the Congaree bottom. An elegant quotation in an ill-penned essay has been likened to "the dolphins that are said to have brought to the shore the dead body of Hesiod. They saved from the deep what, after all, was but lifeless clay."

Lamen Blanchard says of a quotation: "It should be introduced with something like the pomp due to a foreign embassador." Addison when he quotes, he tells us, is very felicitous. "The bank should slope gently down to the water, and the water break with a regular music on the bank." He forbears to dwell upon the sin of omitting the inverted commas, "because to adduce our instances would be to reprint one half of the books that have ever been written." There is what is called "taking possession in the finder's name." An idea, the source of which we may have forgotten, but which we are sure has been quickened by the life of our own mind, is to us as a "treasure trove," which we may pass from hand to hand without label or superscription of any kind. Molière when he imitated Plautus and Terence, Lafontaine when he borrowed from Æsop and Phædrus, were not ashamed of the practice.*

It was a maxim with Goethe that, "It is the *what* rather than the *how* which usually interests people in a work of art; for, while able to grasp the former in its parts, they cannot apprehend the latter as a whole. Hence comes the love of extracting passages, in the course of which, however, if we are careful observers, we shall see that the total effect is again reproduced, only, in this case, unconsciously to every body." For perfection in this art we must turn to old Burton. In his mosaic we have an almost superhuman nicety and minuteness of jointure.

It is in vain to ask, "How much longer we are to live by

---

* Bautain.

quotations alone—quotations a thousand times used, a thousand times abused;" for as long as there is any art in literature, and letters remains a profession, draughts will be made upon every "well of English undefiled." There is not a line of Shakspeare but has been used, with immeasurable iteration, and even his characteristic epithets will continue to be cited until the great volume of human nature is written up and closed forever. "It is only the Divine who never quotes." Even Shakspeare himself is said to have had on his desk scraps of English folk lore and notes of Greek names out of which he made his plays. "We value in Coleridge," says Emerson, "his quotations more than his original suggestions;" and a critic of the critic reminds Mr. Emerson that when he fails to extinguish from his definition of genius the word "create," he forgets that "spontaneous generation of ideas is just as impossible a thing as endeavoring to form live creatures by sending electric shocks through water."

The advantage which modern learning has over ancient has been compared to a dwarf mounted on the shoulders of a giant. It is very difficult, however, to determine when and where this now threadbare figure originated. It is alluded to by Sir William Temple, ridiculed by Butler in his "Hudibras," quoted in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" as from Didacus Stella, and appears in a poem of the twelfth century. It were useless to attempt to trace it any further, for, with Johnson, we would suggest that perhaps "the same images, with very little variation, have served all the authors that have ever written."

It has been sought, if not to defend, at least to palliate the offense of piracy in literature. Thus a writer in "Fraser's Magazine" has said: "Parallel passages we consider of no importance. They simply prove that intellectual architects have occasionally stolen a brick from a neighbor's house. Literary informers may discover that beautiful ideas have been transplanted wholesale from one book to another; they may marshal their witnesses in formidable array, and come before the tribunal of the country; but the author, while pleading guilty, maintains that he has done no wrong. He has merely discovered that another has expressed what he desired to say as well as he could have done, and in the same spirit, and has taken advantage of the circumstances."

In his Autobiography Leigh Hunt admonishes his colaborators of the literary guild not to care for original compositions, inventions, theories of their own, which the many would be slow to apprehend. "Stick," says he, "to the works of others. Write only in magazines and reviews; or, if you must write things of your own, compile, tell anecdotes, reproduce memoirs and topographies. Repeat in as many words of your own as you can other men's criticisms. Do any thing but write to the few—and grow rich." If this be irony—and to suspect that it is not would only argue our own intellectual opacity—it is an irony that we very much admire. We fear, however, that it has been taken by some for honest advice, to be taken in its most literal sense. If in the common walks of literature such a practice as the one thus satirized is provocative of indignant dissent, surely we may enter a protest against its being accepted as in accordance with the canons of homiletic literature. The need of such a protest meets us in quarters in which we have not been accustomed to confront charlatanry of any kind.

An influential paper, representing one of the oldest and wealthiest denominations in the United States, in discussing the "degree and manner in which young ministers may profit from other men's labors," enters into a labored argument to prove "that it is lawful to avail ourselves of other men's labors in the discharge of our office; and that it is a duty incumbent especially on young and inexperienced ministers to do so." Unless they do so, they are told that "their ministry, after having attained, perhaps, a temporary popularity, will become dull, monotonous, and wearisome." The conscience of this ecclesiastical mentor does not seem to have been entirely dead, for he does say, before sending off them inisterial novitiate on his hunt for whole or broken meat, "In quoting passages, it may be well to intimate that you are quoting, though it may not be necessary to mention in the pulpit the name of the author from whom the quotation is taken." It were impossible, in our opinion, to have given more vicious advice.

The enormity of offenses against literary fair dealing is, of course, affected by the *status* of the criminal convicted. If the President of the United States was detected in pilfering from the pocket of a poor, dependent, and defenseless negro, even though it were but his corn-cob pipe, it would excite an aver-

sion which we could never feel for the negro, though he should be caught in the act of filching the President's purse. So when a man apparently endowed with all intellectual gifts, stoops to plunder, it may be from some poor unknown, he puts himself below ordinary contempt. When Macaulay criticises the author of "Satan, a Poem," and shakes the dusty Turkey carpet about his ears, and then convicts him of the grossest plagiarism, we do not feel that pang of revulsion which we should have felt had the charge been brought against some one of our enshrined gods of gold. Montgomery being only very common clay, we can bear to see him splashed, and even remorselessly shoved into the gutter, by the critic's dashing chariot, without being either enraged or shocked out of measure.

Disraeli attributes to one of his characters, Vivian Grey, the marvelous faculty of securing attention to his own utterances by a kind of inversion of plagiary; instead of stealing the thoughts of others, he invented thoughts for them—a form of literary misdemeanor as difficult as it is rare. "It was a rule of Vivian Grey never to advance any opinion *as his own.* He had been too deep a student of human nature not to be aware that the opinions of a boy of twenty, however sound and however correct, stand but a poor chance of being adopted by his elder, though feebler, fellow-creatures. In attaining any end it was, therefore, his system always to advance his opinion as that of some eminent and considered personage; and when, under the sanction of this name, the opinion or advice was entertained and listened to, Vivian Grey had no fear that he could prove its correctness and its expediency. He possessed, also, the singular faculty of being able to *improvise* quotations; that is, he could unpremeditatedly clothe his conceptions in language characteristic of the style of any particular author; and Vivian Grey was reputed in the world as having the most astonishing memory that ever existed, for there was scarcely a subject of discussion in which he did not gain the victory by the great names he enlisted on his side of the argument. His father was aware of the existence of this dangerous faculty, and had often remonstrated with his son on the use of it." *

We might almost wish that this inverted plagiarism was one of the vices of our day. It is not, however; so far from it are

---

* In this instance Vivian was Disraeli himself.

we that we have to reiterate the advice of Johnson, and say, "Learn the art of forgetting." Bailey supplies the reason:—

> "It is the thought wrote down we want,
> Not its effects—nor likenesses of likenesses;
> And such descriptions are not more than gloves
> Instead of hands to shake. . . .
> . . . Some steal a thought,
> And clip it round the edge, and challenge him
> Whose 't was to swear to it. To serve things thus
> Is as foul witches to cut up old moons
> Into new stars."—FESTUS.

◆

ART. V.—THE PARISH OF WESLEY.

"THE field is the world," said the Master to his disciples. "I look upon all the world as my parish," said Mr. Wesley to his friends, when the churches were closed against him, and his right to preach in the open air in the parish of another was questioned. He wrote, "I look upon all the world as my parish—thus far, I mean, that in whatever part of it I am I judge it right and my bounden duty to declare unto all who are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation." He little dreamed of the prophetic character of his claim to a world-wide parish. He only intended to assert that the neglected population of his country, those practically without the Gospel in England, afforded an ample field for his ministry, not thinking that the movement which he was setting on foot would so soon spread to many nations, with the promise of salvation to all people. Already the field of the Messiah and the parish of Wesley are becoming identical in extent. Will the revival which began under the labors of Mr. Wesley spread over the whole earth? The answer is with his followers. Has this movement power to bring the tribes of men, now destitute of the Gospel, under the influence of the Christian religion? Without doubt, and within a few generations. The Wesleyan Churches have sufficient numbers, wealth, intelligence, position, ecclesiastical appliances and moral force, aided by divine grace, to evangelize the world in less time than has elapsed since Mr. Wesley uttered this gospel slogan. The Methodist Episcopal Church, which is pre-eminently the embodiment of the Wesleyan spirit and ideas, as

well as the strongest in numbers and influence of the Wesleyan branches, is able to carry the glad tidings of peace to all men within one hundred years from this time.

The growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church affords encouragement and instruction to Christian workers, and impressive warnings against schism. Beginning at zero in New York, under the labors of Philip Embury and Captain Webb, and in Maryland under Robert Strawbridge, in 1766, ten years before the declaration of American independence, it soon developed into a vigorous ecclesiastical body. This work in America was first named in the Minutes of Mr. Wesley in 1770, and in the following year it was reported as having 316 members, most of whom were in New York and Philadelphia, Captain Webb having been careful to organize societies and provide churches, while Mr. Strawbridge was neglectful of these matters. In 1773 the number of members and probationers was 1,160; 1774, 2,073; 1775, 3,148; and at the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, 4,921 members and probationers, and 24 preachers; total, 4,945. There was an increase every year during the Revolutionary War, notwithstanding the condition of the country, the sufferings of the people, and the loss of those preachers who returned to England; so that during this decade, from 1776 to 1786, including the seven years of war, the increase was more than fourfold, reaching in that year 20,681, and in 1787, 25,842; 1788, 37,354; 1789, 43,262; 1790, 57,631, the increase that year being 14,369. In these early days the Church openly and strongly opposed slavery.

Then followed the O'Kelly excitement and schism, in 1792. This organization, though small, and coming to naught in a few years, did serious damage to the cause by the agitation and bitterness indulged, and through unjust attacks upon the denomination and its leading men, Bishop Asbury in particular. The increase in 1792, the year in which the secession took place, was only 2,711; and in 1793 still less, 1,663; and in 1794 there was a loss of 1,035; in 1795, 6,317; and in 1796, 3,627. It is impossible to measure the harm done by this schism. Here is a loss of 10,979 to be attributed directly to it, in addition to the fact that the increase would, no doubt, have averaged eight or ten thousand annually more than it did for several years, but

for this blighting influence. In spite of this unfortunate occurrence, however, the membership more than doubled in this decade, advancing from 20,681, in 1786, to 56,664, in 1796. The next decade was peaceful and prosperous, the membership more than doubling in numbers, reaching 130,570 in 1806. Rapid growth continued to follow in each successive year till 1814, the increase the year preceding being 18,950, the largest of any one year up to this date; but in 1814 there was a decrease of 3,178, and in 1815 a decrease of 36.

This decrease was owing to several causes. The first of these, no doubt, was the war with Great Britain, the influence of which upon the morals as well as the finances of the country was felt for a considerable time. Besides this, two serious errors in the administration of the affairs of the Church occurred during this decade. First, in point of time, was the rejection of Jacob Albright, as missionary to the Germans who had settled in this country. He was converted and licensed as a local preacher in 1790, and in 1796 began to itinerate among his people, believing that he was called of God to labor in their interest, and to preach in the German language. The most happy results followed. Many were converted and joined the Church. The Discipline was published in German, and the foundation laid for lasting work among that people. Mr. Albright begged to be appointed missionary by the authorities of the Church, but the objection was made, as to Dr. Nast in later years, that our preaching must be in English, in order to Americanize the German population. Had Mr. Albright been appointed to this field and encouraged, as he should have been, it is easy to see that an ample harvest would have been prepared for the reaping of Dr. Nast and others. Not being recognized by the Church in the capacity to which he felt divinely called, he and his German converts were constrained to withdraw in 1807, and organize an independent conference. This was not followed by an actual decrease of members, but by a sadly diminished increase, especially in 1808. This German conference has grown into an excellent and prosperous Church, the Evangelical Association, numbering 100,000 members. A similar mistake occurred with the colored people. Denied some of the rights which in the nature of things belonged to them, many withdrew and formed the African Methodist

Episcopal Church in 1816. Both of these peoples have long since been granted more than they then asked, but their just demands were not allowed till it was too late to prevent schism. The advantages which might have attended the Church by a more wise and liberal policy on these points at that early day cannot be estimated. During this decade the membership failed to double, though it advanced from 130,570 to 214,235 in 1816.

After this, regular and rapid growth occurred, though from 1816 to 1826 the ratio was about the same as in the preceding decade, the membership being 360,884 at the latter date. In 1820 the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was organized, drawing its members both from the Methodist Episcopal and the African Churches, and its resources mainly from the former. This schism might also have been prevented by the policy and spirit of the present day. From 1826 to 1836 the membership fell below a hundred per cent. increase, though it grew rapidly, and reached at the close of the decade 650,678, there being a decrease of 1,840 that year. In 1828 the mistake of setting off the Canada Conference was made, and the greater one of the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church. The latter, not being demanded by national boundaries, as was the case with Canada, was manifestly unfortunate, if we may judge from the suggestions of the statistics. At that time the Church was enjoying great prosperity, the increase in 1828 being 39,150, the largest for any year in the history of American Methodism thus far, and fully one fourth as many as that denomination now numbers after the labors of half a century. Revivals were then so marked and constant that, though many joined the new organization for several successive years, there was no decrease of numbers in the parent body, but the increase was again sadly diminished, particularly in 1829 and 1830.

A marked decline took place in 1835–37, which may be accounted for by the pro-slavery position of the Church at that time—or, if not pro-slavery, (which is perhaps too emphatic a term to use in this connection,) the strong opposition to antislavery aggression, the Church at that date having fallen to the lowest point ever reached in its opposition to slavery, (it should be remembered that its most rapid advancement was always asso-

ciated with corresponding progress of antislavery sentiment in the Church and among the people)—and the financial condition of the country and the political excitement of those times. In 1840 another secession occurred, unfortunate like the others. Owing to a change in the time of making up the reports for the year, ten conferences were left out of the statistics, thus indicating great losses. These were, however, mostly, if not wholly, merely apparent, not real. Probably there was considerable gain that year, notwithstanding the organization of the Wesleyan Church. The antislavery excitement was intense, and the Church, moving forward with the tide, enjoyed remarkable prosperity, the annual increase averaging over 100,000 from 1840 to 1844. At the height of this success the South seceded, taking away thirteen conferences, with 439,233 members and 1,251 preachers, total 440,484. The "border war," which, without exception, affords the most disgraceful chapter in Methodist history, carried away many others; so that, in addition to all who may have united during that time, the loss to the Methodist Episcopal Church was, in 1845, 31,769; 1846, 495,288; 1847, 12,741 members, and 4,153 preachers; making in all 543,951 loss, instead of a gain of 100,000 a year.

In 1848 losses from this cause were arrested, and a gain of 7,508 effected, the General Conference that year having assumed tenable ground touching this calamity. From that date till 1858 the annual increase was encouraging, though comparatively small, with the exception of 1854, in which there was a gain of 50,721. The increase in 1858 was 136,036. This was soon followed by great political excitement and civil war, during which the Church declined, suffering a loss of 1,924 in 1861, 45,617 in 1862, 19,512 in 1863, 1,608 in 1864; total, 68,661. This was owing to the secession in the Baltimore Conference and the persecutions inflicted upon the Methodist Episcopal Church in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas in those years because of its loyalty to the Government. In the North the membership slowly increased during that eventful period. Nor is there compensation for these losses in the supposition that the decline in the Methodist Episcopal Church was balanced by corresponding gains in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. On this theory that body ought to have had in 1847 not only the

543,951 lost to the Methodist Episcopal Church, but also enough to cover the additions in the North and South for three years, at the lowest possible estimate from 600,000 to 700,000 members; but it did not have that number. At the time of its *maximum* of strength, in 1860, it claimed 454,203 white members and 82,933 probationers; 175,252 colored members and 36,680 probationers, and 2,884 preachers; making a total of 751,954. During the war the white membership was considerably reduced, and soon after the colored members seceded, leaving at the close of the war, not including the colored, only about 450,000 members, less than the aggregate membership at the time of its organization. At the same time, 1864, the Methodist Episcopal Church numbered 928,320, the two Churches combined having not over 1,378,320. Before the separation the Methodist Episcopal Church had, in 1844, 1,171,356, the two Churches having increased scarcely, if any, over 200,000 in *twenty* years, while the undivided Church gained 257,455 in the *two* years preceding the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the midst of the abolition excitement. Will either Church learn wisdom by this experience? If any lessons are to be gathered from such dispensations of Providence, is it not apparent that divine displeasure attended that rupture? To repeat, in another form of words, the Methodist Episcopal Church gained over 50,000 more in the two years before the separation than both Churches did in the twenty years of strife and turmoil after, including the gain of 50,721 in 1854, and 136,036 in 1858, by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Let those who claim that this division was wise and providential ponder, and then explain these facts.

After the war, when the Methodist Episcopal Church practically reasserted its old-time ground in behalf of the poor and the oppressed by re-entering the South with Wesleyan spirit, zeal, and thoughts, large ingatherings again attended the ministry of the Word, and 102,925 were added in the Centennial year, 1866; 113,897 in 1867; and 109,034 in 1868. These rates would have more than doubled the membership in ten years, and at the same time the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was making the most rapid growth of its entire history. But through the influence of designing politicians and others in the

interest of Southern sectionalism, and persistent perversion of facts and misrepresentations of our work, the zeal of the Church declined, and in consequence this field did not receive the encouragement and support which should have been bestowed upon it, and the annual increase greatly diminished, being in 1869, 43,823; 1870, 68,196; 1871, 51,189; 1872, 37,118; 1873, 5,586; 1874, 99,494; 1875, 17,038; 1876, 33,001. Increase in ten years, from 1866 to 1876, 581,376. There is no room for doubt that, had the work in the South been provided for as its importance and necessities demanded, and the good of the country required, other hundreds of thousands, mostly from the world, would have been gathered in, and the Church have doubled its numbers in the past decade. Impeded as its progress has been by strife and war, it increased in twenty-nine years a fraction less than 1,000,000, that is, from 631,558 in 1847, to 1,613,560 in 1876. Including 1877, making thirty years, the increase in the Methodist Episcopal Church was over 1,000,000, while that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the same time was but little, if any, over 200,000. Had these Churches remained together in one body, and worked in harmony for the good of all people, white and colored alike, immeasurably greater results might have been achieved.

It is at least doubtful whether any schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, or separation from it, has been justified by subsequent years. If there is one such case it is that of the Canada Conference, but even here there is room for doubt. The O'Kelly faction, after causing great harm, utterly perished. The Albrights have become a valuable Christian body, but had its founder been aided by merited sympathy and support from the Church, Methodism among the Germans would have begun twenty-five years earlier than it did under Dr. Nast, and have moved in solid columns in this and in the Fatherland, as was manifestly intended by the Head of the Church. The secession of the Africans was a calamity, the magnitude of which appears more and more forcibly as time advances, and the Zion Church originated in trifles. The Protestants could have secured all that was important to their proposed reforms within the Church, without having distracted the public mind, or led it away from the gospel vocation of

saving souls, and, by continuing in peace and love with their brethren, have been jointly the means of converting more persons from sin than they have been in a separate organization. Plainly, the Wesleyans ought to have remained in the old hive, and aided in the antislavery warfare within the parent body; and had the Africans, the Canadians, and the Wesleyans stood firmly by their brethren in the Methodist Episcopal Church in this struggle for the right, the separation of 1844 had never occurred, and slavery would have been abolished by moral forces. Some hotheads would, no doubt, have seceded, but ten years after they had gone the Methodist Episcopal Church would have been stronger in the South than before, and thoroughly antislavery in spirit and sentiment, and Calhounism, which ripened into secession, would have perished with its author. The schism of 1844 has no parallel in ecclesiastical history in the method of its accomplishment, and but few, if any, in the magnitude of resultant evils.

If 4,921 members and 24 preachers have increased to 1,613,560 members and 23,840 preachers in a hundred years, what may this vast multitude accomplish by similar faithfulness and effort in the century following? In spite of all of the difficulties which have been encountered, and the schisms that have occurred, the increase of members in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the century has been about sixty per cent. on the average for each decade. Taking present numbers as a basis for calculation, an increase of fifty per cent. for each decade for the coming century will give 97,500,000, or nearly one sixth of the adult population of the globe, in 1976. But, as may be seen in the facts given, the law of growth in the Church has been greater than this, and more than the actual increase of sixty per cent., not less than an average of one hundred per cent. for each decade in the hundred years. For the first seventy the increase was even greater than this, there being an excess of 11,339 over that ratio in 1846, after the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had broken off. But, as all branches of Methodism in the United States and Canada have sprung from these less than 5,000 in 1776, all of them should be considered in determining this law of growth, for, though not now in the same communion, they are parts of the common product. These form an

aggregate of 3,374,440. Taking these into account, this ratio of increase holds good fourteen years longer, that is, to 1860, the beginning of the civil war, after the close of the eighth decade, and also during a part of the tenth. In those portions of the ninth and tenth decades when it failed, the failure was caused by schism, proslaveryism, political commotion, civil war, and manifest unfaithfulness to duty.

That this has been the law of the growth of the Church in the past, when obedient to God and devoted to soul saving, is beyond question. It has held good for some years with the largest numbers that have been attained, apparently providentially conditioned upon faithfulness to the rights of men, as from 1840 to 1845, and from 1865 to 1868. Growth and decline have been owing to causes which are apparent; have been governed by law, and were not fortuitous nor accidental. The Lord purposes the conversion of the world, and the great lessons of liberty and right are as important to the welfare of men in the Old World as in the New; and as not less than three fourths of mankind are dark-skinned these points may afford significant suggestions. Taking the numbers in the Methodist Episcopal Church as a basis for calculation, according to the law of growth which has prevailed in the past century, one hundred per cent. in each decade, and supposing a corresponding increase for a hundred years to come, we have as a result, in 1976, the incomprehensible number of 1,676,697,600, or more than the present population of the earth. These estimates have only included communicants in the Church. To these may be added twice their number for children and friends, making for these three and a third millions of Methodists a population of 10,000,000, thus changing the problem to the following, namely: If 5,000 have evangelized a population of 10,000,000 in 100 years, what may, or rather what may not, 1,637,400 accomplish in the same length of time under as favorable circumstances? The answer must indicate a number largely in excess of the population of the world. But who supposes that in any decade the members of the Church did their best in evangelical work, or their whole duty to their fellow-men, or even the half of what they might have done? Is it not apparent, from what has been gained, that if the Methodist Episcopal Church is united, holy, active, and in the en-

joyment of divine favor, it can carry the Gospel to all men within a hundred years? Is not the question simply one of piety and work?

During the past century providential preparations for evangelizing the world have rapidly advanced. The growth of mind and activity of thought among civilized nations have been extraordinary. While, perhaps, no nation has kept pace with our own in this respect, all Europe has awakened to new life. It is claimed that one hundred years ago not one in a hundred adults in Russia or Turkey, or one in ten in Papal Europe, or three in ten in Protestant Europe, could read and write. Now, eighty-five per cent. in Teutonic, and fifty per cent. in Latin nations can read and write, while Russia has made great advances toward the enlightenment of the masses and more liberal ideas generally, and in Turkey fires have been kindled which neither civil commotions, foreign wars, nor the overthrow of dynasties can quench. It is also asserted that ten times as many books are printed by civilized nations now as there were a hundred years since, aside from papers and periodicals, which have increased still more rapidly, and that there is at least a hundred times more reading done now than then. While much of this matter is pernicious, more of it is of a wholesome character. As to the number who read the Bible with useful explanatory notes, the comparison is still more favorable.

The first steamboat was launched in 1807, seventy-one years ago; now steamers plow every sea and thread almost every river on the globe. It is only forty-nine years since Stephenson built the "Rocket," the first successful steam-engine for railroads; now there are over two hundred thousand miles of railway in operation, not only binding together the several States of this Union, and uniting the seaboard and interior of our country in interest and intimate business and social relations, but also bringing the diverse nations of Europe into one neighborhood, and diffusing Western civilization throughout the vast domains of Asia, and penetrating Australia, Africa, and South America. The first line of telegraph was put into operation in 1844, thirty-four years ago; now more than seven hundred thousand miles are in constant use, enough to girdle the earth twenty-eight times, including over two hundred subjoyment of divine favor, it can carry the Gospel to all men within a hundred years? Is not the question simply one of piety and work?

During the past century providential preparations for evangelizing the world have rapidly advanced. The growth of mind and activity of thought among civilized nations have been extraordinary. While, perhaps, no nation has kept pace with our own in this respect, all Europe has awakened to new life. It is claimed that one hundred years ago not one in a hundred adults in Russia or Turkey, or one in ten in Papal Europe, or three in ten in Protestant Europe, could read and write. Now, eighty-five per cent. in Teutonic, and fifty per cent. in Latin nations can read and write, while Russia has made great advances toward the enlightenment of the masses and more liberal ideas generally, and in Turkey fires have been kindled which neither civil commotions, foreign wars, nor the overthrow of dynasties can quench. It is also assumed that ten times as many books are printed by civilized nations now as there were a hundred years since, aside from papers and periodicals, which have increased still more rapidly, and that there is at least a hundred times more reading done now than then. While much of this matter is pernicious, more of it is of a wholesome character. As to the number who read the Bible with useful explanatory notes, the comparison is still more favorable.

The first steamboat was launched in 1807, seventy-one years ago; now steamers plow every sea and thread almost every river on the globe. It is only forty-nine years since Stephenson built the "Rocket," the first successful steam-engine for railroads; now there are over two hundred thousand miles of railway in operation, not only binding together the several States of this Union, and uniting the seaboard and interior of our country in interest and intimate business and social relations, but also bringing the diverse nations of Europe into one neighborhood, and diffusing Western civilization throughout the vast domains of Asia, and penetrating Australia, Africa, and South America. The first line of telegraph was put into operation in 1844, thirty-four years ago; now more than seven hundred thousand miles are in constant use, enough to girdle the earth twenty-eight times, beside over two hundred submarine cables, with an aggregate length of more than fifty thousand miles, bringing continents and islands separated by the broadest seas within speaking distance of each other. How much these tend to unify the race, awaken activity, and diffuse knowledge, no finite mind can determine. Corresponding improvement for another century will bring every tribe of man and every portion of the earth into the fellowship of enlightened nations.

The spread of the English language is another important factor in the solution of this problem. This tongue may not, and probably will not, become the common language of all nations; but that it will be spoken more or less in all is evident, and that the Gospel may be preached in English to most of the earth's millions before another hundred years shall pass is highly probable. That this is better adapted than other tongues for such purpose is not affirmed, but that much time and expense could be saved to missionaries by its use is clear; and when it is remembered that the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other ancient languages were so intimately related to pagan philosophy, so pervaded and burdened with it, that the inspired apostles are often found using figures from heathen rites to illustrate and enforce Christian truth, the thought is suggested that a language which is much more free from such associations may better serve the purpose of Christian instruction. One raised among idolaters could hardly study Christian doctrines in ancient tongues without more or less of heathen philosophy obtruding itself in the way of revealed truth, and obscuring it in some measure. If revelation was not thereby perverted, this false philosophy dimmed its brightness, lessened its perspicuity, and marred its beauty, at least to the common mind. The English is pre-eminently a Christian language. It has taken form and finish under Christian influence, philosophy, and thought. Whatever view may be taken of these points, it cannot be doubted that the rapid spread of the English language is helpful in disseminating Christian thought, and that it may serve as an important instrumentality in the universal diffusion of the knowledge of God.

For fifteen centuries Christian nations have occupied the front rank among the powers of the world under the Papal and Greek Churches. More recently Protestantism has taken the

lead, and advanced more rapidly than either of the other forms of Christianity. The three combined have acquired possession or gained control of most of the governments of the world. Over three fourths of the territory of the earth is under Christian government, and the result of the late war in the East practically increases the ratio to a large extent. The Turkish empire lives in name, but its territory is open to evangelical efforts, and the British protectorate will sooner or later amount to the control of the government. That would make an aggregate of 34,000,000 of square miles under Christian government to 7,000,000 under non-Christian, not counting the interior of Africa. Mohammedanism, as an aggressive power, is broken forever, and countries under Mohammedan rule are thus reduced to less than 2,000,000 of square miles in extent, but a fraction over one half as much territory as that of the United States. Countries under pagan governments, outside of the Chinese Empire, cover less than 1,000,000 of square miles, and if Russia should strike heavily against the tottering institutions of China, and England seek to consolidate her Eastern possessions by assuming control of Persia, it would be impossible to forecast the results which might follow. Those who live under Christian government are not all nominally Christian, millions of them as yet being of Mohammedan, Buddhist, or Pagan belief, but they are open to the missionaries under favorable conditions. The population of the world is divided, religiously, as follows, namely: Protestant, 98,000,000; Roman Catholic, 195,000,000; Greek Church, 76,000,000; Jews, 6,000,000; Mohammedans, 160,000,000; Buddhists, 600,000,000; Pagans, 200,000,000, all of whom may be reached by evangelical influences. Among all of these there is scarcely a nation which is not either under a Christian government or has Protestant missions established within its bounds.

The agencies used in spreading the knowledge and influence of the Gospel have materially improved during the last century. One hundred years ago the Bible was comparatively a rare volume. Since that time Bible Societies, Church organizations, and private enterprise have multiplied copies of the sacred book, in various tongues, beyond calculation. The apocalyptic angel, flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach to every nation, may be made to symbolize

Bishop Coke, traversing sea and land as the founder of modern missionary movements. The Sunday-school idea is as old as the world, but the application of that idea in the Sunday-school is new, and affords the best method of teaching the Word of life to the masses that has ever been devised, while Christian education, as an element of evangelical force, belongs to the modern Church. The Papal propaganda and Jesuit schools originated in this idea, but they were soon perverted to serve the ends of ecclesiastical aggrandizement rather than the purpose of saving men from sin. The Methodists in America in 1776 had none of these adjuncts at their command. They were poor and unlearned, without a school, or press, or Sunday-school, or Missionary, Church Extension, Tract, Freedmen's Aid, or other benevolent society. The Methodist Episcopal Church at this time has all of these, and every help known to Christian enterprise, with men and means to use them to good advantage.

A glance at the several fields of labor will tend to strengthen faith in the possibilities of the Church in the near future. In the United States Methodism has 10,000,000 in 40,000,000 under its united ministry, and for all time to come ought, at least, to keep pace with the growth of population. On the South the work is opened in Mexico with as good prospect of success as Webb and Embury had in New York. Should it be thought desirable to extend the Methodist Episcopal Church northward, perhaps the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada would join hands with it in the Dominion. In Europe the Methodist Episcopal Church has a Conference in the center, from which all of the German States can be reached; two conferences in the north, besides the Danish Mission; and a work of extraordinary promise in Italy; and the cause is spreading in many places as it did in America in our early history; while in the East, Turkey in Europe is open to western civilization and evangelism as never before since Mohammedanism crossed the Bosphorus. In these missions there are 22,722 communicants, and permanent foundations laid in all of these sections, unless it be in Bulgaria, and there better opportunities are likely to open than heretofore. What may a hundred years of earnest work by Episcopal Methodism in Europe bring forth?

Should it be said that these are enlightened countries, cultivated peoples, and that it cannot be expected that the Gospel should spread as rapidly among the heathen as evangelism has in America, or may in Europe, attention is called to the Protestant missions in India, where for the past seventy years they have not only kept pace with American Methodism, but perhaps outrun that and the primitive Church, in the rapidity of their growth.* The vast multitudes of the various peoples crowded together in that land promise a harvest of numbers to the Church much greater than the sparse settlements of the American colonies have given to Methodism. It is well to remember, also, in this connection, that while many have been added to American Methodism by immigration, still larger numbers who were converted at its altars have united with other denominations. China is also beginning to heed the invitation to the gospel feast, and if the Church continues to grow according to present promise, the hope of Bishop Kingsley may be realized, and more than a hundred Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church be formed there in less than a hundred years from the time he wrote. Japan has opened its doors, and is, perhaps, the most promising field in pagan countries. With the advantages that have been gained, by making proper use of the schools and membership among the colored people, the Methodist Episcopal Church can evangelize Africa in a hundred years; and if schools in Liberia and the interior are kept up and multiplied, as they should be, the Gospel may be preached to all the tribes on that continent, in

---

* Rev. J. T. Gracey, in the Quarterly Review of April, 1877, says: "In seventy years after the first preaching of the apostles it has been estimated that there were 100,000 converts. In India, seventy years after Carey's first baptism of a native convert, there were 73,000 native Christian converts, and a nominal Christian population among the natives of over 300,000. Between 1862 and 1872 there was an advance from 148,731 to 224,161—sixty-one per cent. Within this decade the number of Telugu Christians advanced from 23 to 6,418. In Chota Nagpore the growth was from 2,531 to 20,000. Our Methodist Episcopal Mission advanced five hundred per cent. Protestant Christianity has spread more rapidly in India than did Brahminism, Moslemism, or Romanism in the East. A uniform increase equal to the last decade would afford 130,000,000 of Christians in India in the year A. D. 2001." Rev. William Taylor, the evangelist, says that "the combinations of opposing forces in India probably exceed those of any other part of the globe," but even here great success has attended missionary labor.

the English language, within the time named. The fact that the Church has grown side by side with, and by cherishing correct ideas of, liberty and emancipation, and of man's duty to his fellows, may indicate the divine purpose with Methodism in behalf of Africa. Work is begun in South America; the missions on the Atlantic coast are prosperous and reaching out toward the interior, and self-supporting ones have been opened among the English-speaking classes on the Pacific coast. Australia, Russia, all of the islands of the sea and the corners of the earth, may soon be reached, if the requisite efforts are made.

Is the Methodist Episcopal Church adapted to this work? It is. The characteristics which have given it success in this country are as well suited to other lands. The chiefest of these is its spiritual life. Methodism is a revival of earnest and primitive Christianity, and this is as much needed in one place as another, where all are spiritually dead. People from all nations seemed to be impressed very much alike on the day of Pentecost; and as human nature is the same and needs the same moral restoratives every-where, and as this is the remedy divinely provided for the spiritual renovation of fallen men, it must be adapted to mankind, to meet the wants of all. Is divine grace suited to all? So the spirituality of Methodism will meet the common need elsewhere as it does here. The doctrines of Methodism are drawn directly from the Bible; that is its real and not merely theoretical standard of faith. There has been no schism among Methodists in Europe or America on questions of doctrine. Other denominations have had creeds and preformed opinions, in the light of which they have interpreted the Scriptures. The Bible has many times been forced to sustain doctrines already accepted. Not so with Methodism. That, without a creed formed in advance, without a system of theology which the Bible must be tortured to support, took, first of all, the sacred record, made it explain itself by itself, and out of the Word, not warped by interpretations, spring the creed and theology of Methodism. Thus it has formed the most scriptural, philosophical, and popular system of religious belief ever taught. If revealed truth is adapted to all nations, the doctrines of Methodism must be equally so. These doctrines are popular because they approve themselves to the common sense of mankind in America, Eu-

rope, Asia, every-where that they are presented. Free grace, universal atonement, individual responsibility, salvation by faith, purity of life, and the witness of the Spirit to the fact of conversion, are, in the nature of things, and always will be, popular Scripture doctrines, because they are manifestly true, easily understood, and clearly taught in the Bible.

The economy of Methodism is not a human invention, but a providential outgrowth of Christian effort under the direction of the New Testament, from a great variety of circumstances in real life; it is concreted experience, crystallized into an efficient, practical ecclesiasticism strong enough to resist opposition, and sufficiently pliable to meet exigencies as they arise. Its itinerancy and lay preaching sprung naturally from the work to be done, in the doing of it, and are calculated to meet the ends sought by scriptural evangelism and a continued pastorate, in the city and country, whether thickly or sparsely settled. Its episcopacy is not a hierarchy nor an ecclesiastical aristocracy, but merely a ministerial office for the superintendence of the Church, to which any minister may be elevated, always under authority, and deriving its power from those over whom it presides, an evangelical supervision of the flock of God, happily devised to direct its forces to the best advantage. Personal religious activity among preachers and members is promoted and utilized by the various means of grace in use and methods of operation. Its class-meetings, prayer-meetings, camp-meetings, revival meetings, Sunday-schools, and multiplied missionary movements, are calculated to keep all employed. "At it, all at it, and always at it," is its rule of personal effort. The position it has given to woman, and the work allowed her, well-nigh double its aggressive force or working power. The Methodist Episcopal Church has also been characterized by liberal views and broad charity toward others. It has not sought so much denominational position, strength, or aggrandizement, as the general good of the people by right doing. Its recognized mission is to spread scriptural holiness, to make society better and happier in all places and phases of life. For such reasons it is found on the side of the poor and oppressed, laboring in the cause of temperance, for universal education, in behalf of humanity, and in favor of all efforts designed to do good. It is the Church of the people. It has

also sought to maintain a high standard of morality among its followers, and thus wield a strong moral influence in its own behalf, in favor of righteousness, and therefore against wrong. Such principles and such policy must ever be popular among those who desire the welfare of the race, or who seek the greatest good for themselves.

The spiritual life, the doctrines, the economy, the liberality, the moral tone and the active benevolence of the Methodist Episcopal Church are suited alike to all climes and to all classes of men. If these are so fully preserved as to meet the approval of God and man, and vigorously applied to the ends proposed in the Gospel, accompanied by the pentecostal anointing, so that the coming century shall be a hundred years of earnest revival work by the Church throughout all lands, the dawn of millennial peace and glory will have come. The way in which to evangelize the world is to evangelize it; while waiting for the coming of Christ, to have the lamps trimmed and burning, as faithful stewards to be employed in the Master's service, using the means which he has provided, living holy, and working hard. Ministers should preach and members labor with this end in view, each giving time, thought, toil, money, for this sublime purpose. If this is done the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, with divine help, can convert the world in a hundred years. Nor is the task so great as might be supposed. If each member will be the means of one conversion in every ten years throughout the century, in addition to those who pass to the Church triumphant, so as to double in numbers each decade, the end is accomplished. Should there be failure, whose will be the fault? May the question which passed around the table at the supper, "Is it I? Is it I?" be heard in all our ranks, and repeated from generation to generation, till the harvest is gathered.

If one denomination can do this, how much more easily all combined? There are other Churches as pious, earnest, and as precious in the sight of God, as the one which has been named. Can there be a doubt that the divine plan is that they should unite in love and labor to bring in the glad day when the earth is the Lord's? Is it not evident that if drunkenness, ignorance, and paganism continue to curse mankind after a hundred years from to-day, sin will lie at the doors of

the Churches? The Methodist Episcopal Church does not bear this responsibility alone, nor does it seek to monopolize any field, nor crave universal dominion, but will most cheerfully share the toil and the glory with all who labor in the vineyard. Its ranks will, undoubtedly, be divided by continents and national lines. Its one great desire is that the world may submit to the cross, and the reign of Jesus be universal and everlasting; that scriptural holiness may spread over all of the parish of Wesley.

In order to accomplish this end the example of the Saviour must be followed. His first public discourse was on the rights of man, against slavery and oppression, his theme being, "Liberty to the captives, deliverance to the oppressed, the jubilee of the nations." Mr. Wesley and the Methodists took up these thoughts of Jesus, and proclaimed them anew to the world. That which has been most successful with the fathers is full of promise in the future. The reform which the Church now needs is simply more spirituality, more Christ-like zeal for right, more Pauline fortitude in maintaining truth, more Wesleyan vigor against sin, more work for the conversion of souls and the sanctification of believers—all united in wise, evangelical propagandism. By these it conquers. The harvest is ready. Why tarry the reapers?

◆

ART. VI.—PRESENT ASPECTS OF SCOTCH THEOLOGY.

IF to be true and constant to a system of theology is a commendable thing in the history of a Church, the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland are worthy of all praise. If the doctrines of the Westminster Standards, commonly known as Calvinistic, have not been faithfully held and preached in Scotland by the vast ministerial army stretching from John Knox to James Begg, they have never been faithfully held and preached outside Scotland. Scottish Presbyterianism has wrought a history marvelous in the testimony it gives of unity —complete unity—in doctrine. It might be divided by questions of policy, such as patronage and control by the State, but in matters of faith as well as of government there have been

no divergences of importance from Knox's day to a recent one. In their warm attachment to their doctrinal system the Presbyterians of Scotland have neither been greatly disturbed by the dangerous phases of religious thought south of the Tweed, nor infected with the malady that has almost destroyed the Reformed Churches of the Continent. Perfectly satisfied with their symbols, they have neither felt inclined to criticise them nor to tolerate attacks on them, at least from their own ranks. They ought to have been a happy family. Commonly, doctrinal controversies are the most bitter and divisive that are known to Churches, and to have almost entirely escaped these would seem a piece of exceptional good fortune for Scotch Presbyterians. They have not, however, been free from strife. On the contrary, there is no body of Christians that have been more disturbed by internal dissensions than they. It is true that the differences which divided them have been often more metaphysical than actual; nevertheless, the disputes were not the less sharp and heated.

While these unimportant struggles are passing from sight, other and more serious troubles are beginning to appear. It is not the disestablishment question nor the establishment of a papal hierarchy in their midst that is to engage the most earnest attention of the Churches, but a movement which threatens the complete overthrow of their standards of religion and (in one of its more destructive aspects) to undermine their faith in the inspiration and divine authority of the Scriptures. The recoil from what must, with all the deference due to an able and consistent body of doctrine, be regarded as a horrible theology in its most characteristic features, has been long in coming to Scotland, but coming it surely is at last. Why the Continental Churches, which had the same basis of doctrine, so soon departed from it it is not our purpose now to inquire. Their history forms a remarkable contrast to that of the Scottish Reformation. While in the case of the latter unwavering attachment to its confessional theology has been a distinguishing feature, the former have held their symbols in such light esteem that their ministers might without rebuke deny openly every doctrine taught by these standards. Nothing of this kind could at any time have been permitted to a Presbyterian minister in Scotland. With what surprise and

horror Scotch theologians regarded the speculations of the Oxford "Essays and Reviews" on the subject of the Bible is well known; but it might be said, without denial, of one of the Continental Churches, that Strauss had more friends than enemies among its theological teachers.*

We ought not, perhaps, in speaking of the long and strong attachment of Scotch Presbyterianism to the traditional theology of Westminster, to fail to notice the fact of the existence in the Established Church of what is known as a Broad Church party. This party might be charged with being in close sympathy with the Broad Church party of England, and with loose ideas, indeed, about the canon of Scripture and what is known in Scotland as evangelicism, but it professes to hold to the Westminster Standards. It is said that it was the Edinburgh organ of this party which first urged upon the Free Church the duty of vindicating its attachment to its doctrinal standards in the arraignment and trial of Professor Smith for his daring biblical criticisms; and its leader, Principal Tulloch, who was moderator of the General Assembly last year, in his closing address said the schemes for revising the Standards were founded on ignorance of their true character, and, from the nature of the case, must be unsuccessful. The Westminster theology, in all its purity, has been preached from Scottish pulpits, and preached faithfully. It was not considered necessary or proper to soften any of its harsher and more repellant features. Not only was the *decretum horribile*, as Calvin called it, the central point in sermonizing, but the inferential doctrine of infant damnation was taught from the pulpit, even within the memory of the late George Gilfillan of Dundee.† The Rev. Dr. John Eadie used to tell how once when he delivered an address to a congregation which was served by a pastor whose rigid theology hindered "perfect freedom of utterance" concerning the offer of salvation, an elder rose and expressed his thanks for the freeness with which the Gospel had been proclaimed, "a freeness," he added, "to which this congregation is not accustomed."‡

---

* Von Oosterzee, in a paper read at the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, 1873.

† The Rev. David Macrae, in the New York "Independent," Sept. 12, 1878.

‡ "Life of John Eadie, D.D.," pp. 113, 114. Macmillan & Co. 1878.

It is not singular that the Old Testament should have been more commonly used than the New,* when the awful sovereignty of God, and not his universal love, was to be set forth. The Churches were rooted and grounded in Calvinism, and nourished with it. The people were thoroughly instructed in it, ready and delighted at all times to "gang ower the fundamentals." If the Churches were careful and faithful in inculcating what was to be accepted, they deemed it of no less importance to declare what should be rejected. If a warm attachment was professed on the one hand, a cordial aversion was manifested on the other. Other Churches of the Reformation might, with more or less emphasis, reject in their symbols obnoxious doctrines; but the Scottish Churches have developed a negative theology to a pre-eminent degree, and have never ceased to regard it as a necessary defense of the purity of their faith. The "National Covenant" of 1850 is a purely "negative confession," describing only the doctrines to be rejected.† The form of subscription used by the Kirk requires candidates to "disown all Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, Bourignian, and other doctrines, tenets, and opinions whatever, contrary to and inconsistent with the Confession of Faith." An old Cameronian left, as a legacy to his followers, on his death-bed, a "protest against all sectarian errors, heresies, and blasphemies, particularly against Arianism, Erastianism, Socinianism, Quakerism, Deism, Bourignianism, Familism, Skepticism, Arminianism, Lutheranism, Brownism, Baxterianism, Anabaptism, Millenarianism, Pelagianism, Campbellianism, Whitefieldianism, Latitudinarianism, and Independency," etc.‡ Whitefield's experience in Scotland is well known. His fame as an evangelist had, of course, preceded him, and the Cameronians, anxious to make terms with him, brought him the Solemn League and Covenant to sign, and insisted that he should restrict his ministrations to the pulpits of the "most straitest sect" in Scotland. Whitefield was not the sort of man to enter into any such engagement. He told them in his blunt way that he was ignorant of, and utterly indifferent to, the Solemn League and Covenant, and would preach Christ

---

* Stanley's "Lectures on the Church of Scotland," p. 95. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

anywhere, even in the Pope's pulpit if it were offered him. Of course, nothing the evangelist did after that was good. In their eyes the revival at Cambuslang was an "awful work on the bodies and spirits of men"—awful enough to justify the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer.

One who has read the history of Catholicism in Scotland—what it did for the people, and what great struggles were necessary to break its power—can scarcely wonder at the deep-seated hatred evinced toward it in the dominant religion of the country. This fact enters into and colors the whole history of the Scottish Churches. It would seem as though their aim was, even in matters of minor importance, to go to the opposite extreme from Catholicism. As Catholics had a daily communion, they decided that they would commune but once a year; as Catholics knelt in prayer, they resolved to stand; as Catholics stood in praise, they would sit; as Catholics had saints' and feast days, they rejected all, including Christmas. Next to "popery," in their catalogue of rejected things, was "prelacy." Their strong sense of independence was wounded by the persistent attempts to force upon them the English system, and they were roused to a fury with the first words of the Anglican ritual in St. Giles' Cathedral, that was feebly expressed by the discharge of stools at the dean's head. They could not and would not tolerate what they called the "popish mass," and in rejecting what was to them a hateful thing, and in accepting in the following year (1638) the National Confession, they showed how deep and intense were their religious convictions. There is no question that the attempts to crush the Reformation, and to supersede the plan of government which it adopted, only strengthened the attachment of the people to the Presbyterial system, and deepened and settled their religious convictions.

There is another feature of Scottish Presbyterianism which must be noticed before we can proceed to consider intelligently the evidence that its doctrinal system is undergoing important changes. Edinburgh has been a great literary center. It has produced, perhaps, the ablest magazine in the English language, and given to the world its share of books of all kinds. But if we allow that the clergy have in books of sermons, in biographies, and in devotional and doctrinal works, anywhere, even in the Pope's pulpit if it were offered him. Of course, nothing the evangelist did after that was good. In their eyes the revival at Cambuslang was an "awful work on the bodies and spirits of men"—awful enough to justify the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer.

One who has read the history of Catholicism in Scotland—what it did for the people, and what great struggles were necessary to break its power—can scarcely wonder at the deep-seated hatred evinced toward it in the dominant religion of the country. This fact enters into and colors the whole history of the Scottish Churches. It would seem as though their aim was, even in matters of minor importance, to go to the opposite extreme from Catholicism. As Catholics had a daily communion, they decided that they would communne but once a year; as Catholics knelt in prayer, they resolved to stand; as Catholics stood in praise, they would sit; as Catholics had saints' and feast days, they rejected all, including Christmas. Next to "popery," in their catalogue of rejected things, was "prelacy." Their strong sense of independence was wounded by the persistent attempts to force upon them the English system, and they were roused to a fury with the first words of the Anglican ritual in St. Giles' Cathedral, that was fitly expressed by the discharge of stools at the dean's head. They could not and would not tolerate what they called the "popish mass," and in rejecting what was to them a hateful thing, and in accepting in the following year (1638) the National Covenant, they showed how deep and intense were their religious convictions. There is no question that the attempts to crush the Reformation, and to supersede the plan of government which it adopted, only strengthened the attachment of the people to the Presbyterial system, and deepened and settled their religious convictions.

There is another feature of Scottish Presbyterianism which must be noticed before we can proceed to consider intelligently the evidence that its doctrinal system is undergoing important changes. Edinburgh has been a great literary center. It has produced, perhaps, the ablest magazine of the English language, and given to the world its share of books of all kinds. But if we allow that the clergy have, in books of sermons, in biographies, and in devotional and doctrinal works, shown a fair degree of literary activity, we must observe that they have done scarcely any thing in periodical literature. There is in Scotland no distinctively religious newspaper, or theological quarterly, or religious monthly for the discussion of doctrinal matters, unless the monthly magazine of the United Presbyterian Church will pass for one. In America the religious weeklies and quarterlies are very numerous. No denomination is too small and weak to have one or both. The power wielded by our religious press is a tremendous one. It educates both pulpit and pew, and discusses boldly and intelligently every question of interest to the Christian. The Scotch depend upon their daily press for ecclesiastical news. We are bound to say that these dailies show great intelligence, both in their reports of religious events and in their comments upon them; but it is scarcely possible that, having the news of the world to serve and discuss, they can allow their columns to be used to such an extent as ministers and laymen might desire to use them to write of matters concerning the Churches. It has been about ten years since the last number of "The Witness," which in the hands of Hugh Miller was a very able religious weekly, was published at Edinburgh, and there has been nothing to take its place. There are monthly publications of mission reports, there are one or two evangelical weeklies, the Evangelical Union has an organ at Glasgow, and Dr. Candlish is editor of the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," which might be called a Scotch publication, though it is published at London. Besides these we know of nothing resembling a religious newspaper or a theological review in Scotland. Perhaps the failure to provide at home for what are recognized in America as definite and imperative wants, has led Scotch Presbyterians to patronize English and foreign periodicals not in entire sympathy with their symbols.

Having now prepared the way to the consideration of the development of new phases of religious thought in Scotland, we may undertake to trace and describe some of the influences which have been and are now operating to produce them. It will be a great mistake to suppose that these influences have been sufficiently powerful to effect the changes in theology which are now so apparent in a few years. Somewhat suddenly has the fact that changes have taken place been made known in

Scotland, but it is no longer doubted that there is a difference between the doctrine preached from the pulpit and that of the Westminster Standards. . Every body knows this now, because one of the Scottish Churches has formulated those differences. The influences which we are able to trace in the religious thought of Scotland are in two lines: one proceeding from within the Churches, and softening the harsher features of Calvinism; the other proceeding from the Continental and English schools of Rationalism, and destined, doubtless, to weaken faith in both dogmatic theology and biblical infallibility. The older line of influence runs back some fifty years, to Thomas Erskine and John M'Leod Campbell. Both were remarkable men, whose published works were destined to have a greater power over the succeeding generation than either of the men could personally command over his contemporaries, though Dr. Campbell seems to have exercised a powerful influence over Norman M'Leod. Erskine was a layman of a distinguished name. Though qualified for the bar, religious thought was more to his taste, and he gave most of his life to it. He is said to have inclined to atheism in his youth, but a searching and impartial examination of the Gospels led him to accept them. He did not, however, fix himself upon the basis of the Westminster theology, for his first book, on "The Internal Evidence of Revealed Religion," rejected the orthodox view of the atonement, and represented that the formation of Christian character was the object of Christian belief and the end of "Christ's unspeakable work." His second book, (1828,) on "The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel," was received in a different manner from the first, and marked the rise of the agitation which resulted in the deposition of the Rev. John M'Leod Campbell from the ministry of the Church of Scotland. The two men met about the time this book appeared, and, discovering that they held similar views, became fast friends. Mr. Campbell was parish minister of Row, and it soon became known that he was preaching the universal love of God and an unlimited atonement. Very sound doctrines they seem to us, but they were not so considered in Scotland, and the year 1831 saw him and a friend, a licentiate, put outside the Kirk. The Presbytery found that he had "entertained and promulgated the doctrine of universal atone-

ment and pardon through the death of Christ, and also the doctrine that assurance is the essence of faith, and necessary to salvation." After his deposition he preached as an evangelist, and had charge of a separate Church in Glasgow ten years, retiring from the active ministry in 1843, on account of ill health. Of his several books, the one which has exerted the most influence on religious thought, both in Scotland and England, is that on the atonement. His friend, Erskine, was drawn into the Irvingite excitement, which was at its height near the time of Mr. Campbell's deposition, but the latter kept clear of it and all its excesses, though he was a friend of Edward Irving. A very curious movement, indeed, was this which Irving headed, to spring from the Presbyterian Church. Here was a reaction from Presbyterianism which has gone beyond, if possible, Catholicism in the splendor and copiousness of its ritual. Irving, too, proclaimed a Gospel free to all, and added his influence to that of the "Rowites" in exciting thought on the subject. Soon after the agitation which we have been describing subsided, another case similar to that of Mr. Campbell rose in one of the smaller Churches. It is known as the Morisonian Atonement Controversy.* James Morison was a young minister of the United Secession Church, devout and zealous, and yearning to tell men that any or all might be saved if they would. A tract of Finney's aroused, and the teachings of Erskine and Campbell probably settled, his convictions, and, with the Rev. John Guthrie and some others of the same mind, he began to proclaim with courage and fervor the universality of God's love and of the atonement. A minister had remarked in the case of Mr. Campbell that these doctrines could not be preached in the Kirk; neither were they permissible in the pulpits of the United Secession Church. Morison and his followers were compelled either to renounce their opinions or their pulpits. They relinquished their pulpits (1841) and formed an independent body, known as the Evangelical Union, which occupies the same doctrinal position as the Cumberland Presbyterian Church of the United States. The Union is not a large body, but it has had its share of influence in effecting a change in the type of Calvinism prevalent thirty years ago.

* Dr. Brown's "Life of Dr. John Eadie, pp. 112, 113." Macmillan & Co. 1878.

Other and very powerful agents in modifying the Westminster theology have been the agitations for a revision of the Confession of Faith. While these agitations have served to indicate stages of progress toward a milder and more scriptural type of theology, they have given new light to many an honest Calvinist, who, upon careful examination with its aid, has found himself at variance with the creed to which he subscribed. The growth of opinion favorable to revision has been marvelously rapid in the last few years. It required vastly more courage than it does now, for the Rev. George Gilfillan, of Dundee, lately deceased, to charge the Standards with containing "many blunders—blunders of scriptural interpretation, blunders of natural and mental philosophy, and blunders of theological doctrine." That was a very bold utterance, even by a man of Mr. Gilfillan's large reputation, and it horrified all Presbyterian Scotland. The brethren of Mr. Gilfillan's presbytery summoned him before them, and gravely remonstrated with him, hoping that nothing more would be needed to induce him to treat the venerable and venerated symbols of the Church more respectfully in future. It was, doubtless, a surprise to every body that such a bold criticism should have been dealt with so mildly. Mr. Gilfillan was not a man who could be silenced when he had firm and settled convictions. He continued his criticisms of the Confession on fitting occasions, and lent his advice and support to others who more recently espoused the cause. The United Presbyterian Church could not well refuse to listen to the voices that urged that the Westminster Standards did not represent its living faith. It could not plead the inviolability of the Confession, because its formulary of subscription contained a reservation as to what (referring to the chapter on the civil magistracy) "teaches or is supposed to teach compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles in religion." It was easy to argue that if the Confession was fallible and erroneous on one point it might be so on others.

Following Mr. Gilfillan as a critic of the Confession of Faith came the Rev. David Macrae, of Gourock, and the Rev. Fergus Ferguson, of Glasgow. Any thing that had come from Dundee was mild compared with the criticisms of these two ministers. Mr. Macrae, in asking his presbytery to send up to

the synod an overture for revision, made bold to say that the theology of the Standards was not the theology of the Bible; that the God of the Confession was not the God of the Bible. He declared that his brethren did not preach the theology of the Confession, and challenged them to deny it. Going on to describe the theology of the Confession, he said :—

> The Confession teaches that God for his own glory has predestinated some men to be saved, but that all the rest of mankind he has predestinated to damnation and everlasting torment in hell. It teaches that while there is no fear of the elect, there is no hope for the non-elect. . . . It teaches that by reason of the sin of Adam, apart from any fault of their own, men come into the world wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body, utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. It teaches that because of this sin, which they could not and cannot help, they are bound helplessly over to the wrath of God, and the curse of the law, and so made subject to spiritual, temporal, and eternal death. It teaches that even in heathen lands, where they have never heard, and therefore have had no opportunity of accepting, the Gospel, they cannot be saved, no matter how earnestly they frame their lives according to the light of nature, or the laws of that religion which they profess. . . . It teaches that of the countless myriads of babes who have died and are dying in infancy, only the elect are saved. For the non-elect, young or old, it has no fate but the unending and unspeakable torments of hell.

The presbytery thought he was using rather severe language. It was severe language, but it was severe theology that was described. Mr. Macrae was, probably, not much disappointed at the defeat of his overture, and at receiving himself the admonition of the presbytery. But Mr. Macrae's session sent up a similar overture to the synod, and there were others also from the presbyteries of Perth and Glasgow. The manner of the synod in receiving them was very amusing. On the principle of not letting the right hand know what the left was about to do, it first censured those who had criticised the Standards, and then proceeded to appoint a special committee to consider the subject, still declaring its steadfast adherence to the ancient symbols. It would not do to lean too much toward innovations, nor yet to be too stiffly conservative. In the same year (1877) the Rev. Fergus Ferguson, who had been accused of various heresies, to which we shall refer further on, refused to

square his views by the Confession of Faith. He characterized the position of the Church in requiring acceptance of doctrines which were neither believed nor preached as dishonest, and, like Mr. Macrae, he charged the Confession with misrepresenting the Word of God. The committee appointed by the synod to ascertain if the Standards were in full accord with the Scriptures might not sympathize with Mr. Ferguson's doctrine of the atonement and other errors, but it could not be unmindful of the deep impression which his criticisms, as well as those of Mr. Macrae, had made upon the Church. It was composed of able men representing all shades of opinion, who did their work conscientiously and faithfully. They agreed at the outset that it was not expedient or desirable to revise the Standards, and set themselves to work to embody, in the form of a "Declaratory Statement," the convictions of the Church. The adoption by the synod of this document by a large majority marks an epoch in the history of Calvinism in Scotland. The "Statement," as defining the sense in which the Church holds the Westminster Standards, consists of seven articles or paragraphs. The first article declares that free offer of salvation is made to every man, without distinction, on the ground of Christ's perfect sacrifice; the second, that the doctrine of the divine decrees is to be held in harmony with the truth that "God will have all men to be saved," and with the "responsibility of men in dealing with the free and unrestricted offer of eternal life;" the third, that man's inability is not of such a nature as to affect his responsibility, and that his depravity is not of such a nature as to prevent him from performing actions in any sense good; the fourth, that those who accept the standards are not required to hold that any infants are lost or that all the heathen must perish; the fifth, that Christ is the only head and king of the Church; the sixth, that the Church is under obligation to maintain missions among the heathen; and the seventh, that liberty is permissible on points which do not affect the substance of faith, such as interpretation of the "six days of creation."

The few who are staunch supporters of the traditional theology of Westminster will find little to their liking in the "Declaratory Statement." The two are widely apart. Good men may say and actually believe that the only effect of the

Statement is to bring out more clearly the doctrines of the Confession, but it is not in reason or language to reconcile the two. Compared even with the "Auburn Declaration" of the New School Presbyterians of this country, it is a liberal document. At the time the famous "Declaration" was issued it was regarded as a momentous event, as showing a very marked deviation from the type of Calvinistic theology then prevalent. One knowing what sort of doctrine New School men preached is surprised now in examining this manifesto to find it so conservative, but not at all astonished that the Old School Assembly of 1868 should be able to approve it as containing "all the fundamentals of the Calvinistic creed." Its conservative character is attributable to the controlling desire of the New School theologians to concede as much to the Westminster theology as conscience would permit. Thus, in respect to the central doctrine of Calvinism, the "Auburn Declaration," in almost the language of the Confession, declares that "election to eternal life is not founded on a foresight of faith and obedience, but is a sovereign act of God's mercy," etc. Man's salvation, then, is independent of his desire to obey the call of the Holy Spirit and to exercise saving faith; and the reason God does not save all is because "in his wisdom he does not see fit to exert that power further than he does." It is a different doctrine which the Scottish "Declaratory Statement" sets forth. When it explicitly declares that the Gospel is offered freely to all mankind, that it is sufficient for all, and adapted to all, it teaches the Arminian doctrine of a universal atonement; in asserting that man is responsible for dealing with the offer, it implies that he may either accept or reject it, and thus the Arminian doctrines of conditional salvation and free agency are set forth. Christ did *not* die for the elect alone, but for every man; some men and angels are *not* "foreordained unto everlasting death" for the manifestation of God's glory, but because they reject the free and unrestricted offer of salvation; the strivings of the Holy Spirit are *not* alone with those whom He has "predestinated unto life," but with every man, and man alone is responsible for the way he deals with them.

Some of the members of the synod questioned whether there was not some inconsistency between the "Statement" and the

Standards; and one, a minister, inquired whether the confessional doctrine of a limited atonement had not been swept away; but he expressed satisfaction when informed that such was not the case. Dr. Cairns, of the committee, made the principal speech in explanation and support of the "Statement," and we find him expressing the hope that some day the Church would be in possession of shorter and simpler standards, and the conviction that Presbyterians and Methodists were nearer each other in doctrine than many supposed. It is rather singular to listen to his assertion, near the beginning of his speech, that the "Statement" is simply an attempt to "bring out the supposed sense of the Standards," and hear him further on admit that "wings of faith" are necessary to cross the river separating the two. Upon this the "Scotsman" made the not inapt suggestion that a pair of "colossal legs to bestride the difficulty" would suit Dr. Cairns' purpose better. We suspect that when the new territory is fully occupied no one will care to return to the old. The light and beauty of Canaan are better than the darkness and terror of Egypt.

The severe attacks the Confession has lately received have induced an Aberdeen professor to undertake a vindication and explanation* of that venerable standard. He confesses at the outset that he entered upon the task with serious misgivings as to the possibility of holding God's boundless and impartial love to every human creature consistently with the doctrine of the Confession. He states the objections to the Confession so ingenuously and strongly that the ingenuity of his answers and explanations, though great, is entirely inadequate. Predestination, as he defines it, "means that God included in his plan of the world every act of every creature, good or bad." He "knew what each in the exercise of his free-will would choose," and included it in his plan, "and to this extent foreordained it." At the end of such a line of argument we should look for just what we find in this case, an admission that the defense is not in accordance with the historical interpretation of the Confession, and a plea for interpreting the latter as an act of Parliament is interprete —that it "enjoins nothing further than it distinctly states."

* "Predestination and Free-will and the Westminster Confession of Faith." By John Forbes, D.D. Edinburgh: J. & J. Clark. 1878.

We have referred to the trial of the Rev. Fergus Ferguson. The most important heresy of which he was found guilty was in reference to the atonement. He was charged with denial of the substitutionary aspect of Christ's atonement, and his admissions before the synod and to a special committee bear out the charge. What he did say clearly, amidst much that was obscure, uncertain, and mystifying, was that the main element in the satisfaction of divine justice was Christ's obedience to God. Another element of it was Christ's priesthood in heaven. In the synod's action in this case the fact that is most evident is a desire to avoid bringing Mr. Ferguson under discipline. The finding of the presbytery could not with any sort of justice be reversed; so we find the synod approving a decision to the effect that heresy which "cannot be tolerated in this Church" had been proved, and at the same time declaring that there was toleration for it. This toleration is the most significant feature of the case. No doubt the complications occasioned by the adoption of the "Declaratory Statement" furnished the chief reason for leniency toward Mr. Ferguson.

We now pass to the consideration of some of the other influences which are affecting religious thought in Scotland, and of which the heresy case of Professor Robertson Smith is the earliest and most startling result. The sources of these influences, which have been educating the youthful Scottish mind* in the last twenty years, were German theological and biblical literature, the writings of the older English liberal school of Coleridge and the Hares, and of the newer school of Maurice and Kingsley, and the books of the Scottish philosopher, Thomas Carlyle.† In later years Scottish students have been finishing their theological course in the German universities, returning to their country to propagate the liberal opinions they accepted. Two, at least, of the young gentlemen who have made themselves acquainted with the results obtained by both the Dutch and German schools of criticism, have been settled in university chairs, and have in charge the education of the future ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. It is singular that Continental opinion should first manifest itself in the stiffest and most dogmatic of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches. Had such a case as that of Professor Smith appeared

---

* Principal Tulloch in "Contemporary Review," March, 1878.

† *Ibid.*

in the Kirk, which is rather noted for its moderation, or in the United Presbyterian Church, which has been gradually withdrawing its allegiance to the traditional theology of Westminster, it would not have been so strange. It is only about thirty-five years since the Free Church was founded on the strictest dogmatic platform, taking, according to the common boast, nearly all that were sound out of the old Kirk with it. Such preachers and theologians as Chalmers and Guthrie and Candlish and Cunningham have been its standard-bearers, and never were they accused of betraying their trust. If there has been one Church which has marched closer than the others to the Westminster Standards, it has been the Free Church, and yet its dogmatism has not protected it from the invasion of Rationalism. In the opinion of one who is certainly not an alarmist,* "many signs of the times indicate that the disintegrating influences which have so long been working with startling results upon Continental Protestantism have at length fastened themselves upon our own ecclesiastical communities," and their legitimate effects may be looked for in due time.

The last Free Church Assembly dealt with two cases of heresy respecting the Scriptures, those of Dr. Dods and Prof. Smith. The former attracted much less attention than the latter, because it was settled before it came to trial. In a sermon which was printed and circulated, Dr. Dods had said that the historical books of the Bible were not free from inaccuracies. Those who contributed to the Scriptures had erroneous impressions regarding ordinary matters; their style was crude and their grammar bad. It was, however, "no concern of the Bible's to teach history or science, or to correct all the erroneous impressions and popular fallacies which existed in the minds" of those who wrote it. Dr. Dods has evidently been a reader of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch, in which that prelate selects certain passages from the five books, and declares them to be the production of "error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance." Perhaps Dr. Dods does not, however, go with the author so far as to decline to receive the Pentateuch as historically true. His presbytery found "objectionable" views in the sermon, but as the accused had agreed to withdraw it from publication, it decided that it was unneces-

---

* Edinburgh "Scotsman," 1878.

sary to institute further proceedings. There was some dissatisfaction with the action of the presbytery, but both synod and assembly approved it.

The case of Professor Smith is not yet concluded; but it has been before all the judicatories which have a right to consider it, and it is perfectly easy to gather from the proceedings thus far what the mind of the Church is in respect to it. The college committee, the presbytery, the synod, the commission, and the assembly, have all passed judgment upon it. The man who has attracted so much attention in Scotland for the past two years by his advanced opinions on biblical matters is a young man only thirty-one years of age. The Rev. William Robertson Smith is son of the Rev. W. P. Smith, D.D., a minister of the Free Church. He graduated at the University of Aberdeen, and spent some time abroad in study at the universities of Bonn, Göttingen, and Berlin. Upon his return to Scotland he became assistant to Professor Tait, in the University of Edinburgh. Soon after he was called to the chair of Oriental Languages and Old Testament Exegesis in the Aberdeen Free College. He has some reputation as a mathematician, but is more distinguished for his biblical learning. He is of low stature, is youthful in appearance, possesses a clear, penetrating eye, is said to be very pleasant in manner, winning the love and respect of his students, and is, withal, very devout. On account of his excellence as a biblical scholar he was selected as a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee, and also to write certain articles for the theological department of the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Among these articles was one on the "Bible," which was treated with undeniable ability, and gave evidence of a thorough knowledge of the opinions and writings of all schools of thought on the subject. It was soon discovered that in this article Professor Smith had taken great liberty with some of the books of the Bible, and that he discovered a decided leaning toward the latest results of critical research. At first only vague rumors of heresy were in circulation, and anxiety was manifested; but when more definite information was received signs of alarm began to be seen. The Church was startled. Here was a blow struck at the inspiration and divine authority of the Scriptures by a man whom the Church

had commissioned to instruct young men for its ministry. There was an outcry from pulpit and press. The fountain of ministerial supply was being poisoned. It was a case calling for prompt action. This was in the summer of 1876. Urged by public opinion, the board of college visitors, or college committee of the assembly, undertook to make an examination into the truth of the allegations of general report. The pressure on the committee from without was great; but in the circle of the college influence there was a different feeling prevailing, a feeling which had its effect on the committee, whose decision was a compromise. It found dangerous tendencies in the writings of the young professor, but no "ground sufficient to support a process of heresy." That such a conclusion of a six months'. investigation would be a disappointment to the Church could have been foretold by any one knowing its temper. If there was surprise at the thought that German opinion could find a lodgment in the Church, there must have been astonishment and dismay at the discovery that a responsible committee of the assembly had calmly proposed toleration for it. The assembly of the spring of 1877 reassured those who had begun to tremble for the soundness of the Church in promptly rejecting the report of the college committee, and suspending Professor Smith from his professorial functions until his case could be examined and passed upon by his presbytery, the Presbytery of Aberdeen.

The process entered upon by the presbytery was a long, tedious, and difficult one. The libel had first to be drawn by a committee and reported to presbytery; then to be sent to the legal adviser of the Church for revision, whose suggestions and proposed alterations must be discussed and acted upon; next, the relevancy of the amended libel was to be considered, and, finally, its charges must be established. The libel in this case was a very long document, differing greatly in form from the process which was used by the Presbyterians in this country in the trial of Professor Swing. The major proposition, containing three counts, was in the form of a preamble, declaring that *whereas* such and such opinions are opposed to the Confession of Faith and to the Scriptures, (the particular opinions being designated in specifications numbered from *primo* to *octavo*,) *therefore* (introducing the minor proposition) you, etc., had commissioned to instruct young men for its ministry. There was an outcry from pulpit and press. The fountain of ministerial supply was being poisoned. It was a case calling for prompt action. This was in the summer of 1876. Urged by public opinion, the board of college visitors, or college committee of the assembly, undertook to make an examination into the truth of the allegations of general report. The pressure on the committee from without was great; but in the circle of the college influence there was a different feeling prevailing, a feeling which had its effect on the committee, whose decision was a compromise. It found dangerous tendencies in the writings of the young professor, but no "ground sufficient to support a process of heresy." That such a conclusion of a six months' investigation would be a disappointment to the Church could have been foretold by any one knowing its temper. If there was surprise at the thought that German opinion could find a lodgment in the Church, there must have been astonishment and dismay at the discovery that a responsible committee of the assembly had calmly proposed toleration for it. The assembly of the spring of 1877 reassured those who had begun to tremble for the soundness of the Church in promptly rejecting the report of the college committee, and suspending Professor Smith from his professorial functions until his case could be examined and passed upon by his presbytery, the Presbytery of Aberdeen.

The process entered upon by the presbytery was a long, tedious, and difficult one. The libel had first to be drawn by a committee and reported to presbytery; then to be sent to the legal adviser of the Church for revision, whose suggestions and proposed alterations must be discussed and acted upon; next, the relevancy of the amended libel was to be considered, and, finally, its charges must be established. The libel in this case was a very long document, differing greatly in form from the process which was used by the Presbyterians in this country in the trial of Professor Swing. The major proposition, containing three counts, was in the form of a preamble, declaring that whereas such and such opinions are opposed to the Confession of Faith and to the Scriptures, (the particular opinions being designated in specifications numbered from *prima* to *septima*,) *therefore* (introducing the minor proposition) you, etc., are guilty, etc., the publications being mentioned in which the offenses were committed, and the quotations given on which the charges rest. Then follows the conclusion, to the effect that, the accused being guilty, sentence should be pronounced "for the glory of God, for the edification of the Church, and the deterring of others holding the same sacred office from committing the like offense in all time." It is to be feared that this stage of the case will never be reached.

It is not surprising that the libel, in hands unused to such work, was unskillfully drawn; nor that the process of trying its relevancy was one which some members of the court did not understand, and which led to some confusion. Some supposed that, instead of deciding whether the libel was logically consistent, whether it charged actual offenses, they were voting "guilty" or "not guilty." The process was of such a nature as to draw out the defense of the accused, and there is good excuse, we should think, for the confusion which existed.

The three charges of the libel were: 1. The publishing of opinions which contradict or are opposed to the inspiration, infallible truth, and divine authority of the Scriptures; 2. The publishing of opinions which are in themselves of a dangerous and unsettling tendency in their bearings on inspiration, etc.; 3. The publishing of opinions which, by their neutrality of statement and rashness of critical construction, tend to disparage the divine authority and inspired character of the Bible. The first charge was found relevant, but the eight specifications under it were decided to be irrelevant. The second charge was voted relevant, (21 to 20,) but on appeal to synod this decision was reversed. The third charge was declared to be irrelevant by a vote of 27 to 29. This was tantamount to an acquittal of the accused. There was nothing left before the presbytery to proceed to trial upon. The case came before the assembly in excellent shape for Professor Smith, where we may follow it at once, without reference to the intermediate action of synod or commission. The assembly, too, appeared to be in a mood more friendly to Professor Smith. The fact that committee, (college,) and presbytery, and synod had found no ground of condemnation could not fail to have some influence on its temper. There was a strong current of sympathy running through the assembly in favor of the accused. When he or Dr. Dods are guilty, etc., the publications being mentioned in which the offenses were committed, and the quotations given on which the charges rest. Then follows the conclusion, to the effect that, the accused being guilty, sentence should be pronounced "for the glory of God, for the edification of the Church, and the deterring of others holding the same sacred office from committing the like offense in all time." It is to be feared that this stage of the case will never be reached.

It is not surprising that the libel, in hands unused to such work, was unskillfully drawn; nor that the process of arguing its relevancy was one which some members of the court did not understand, and which led to some confusion. Some supposed that, instead of deciding whether the libel was logically consistent, whether it charged actual offenses, they were voting "guilty" or "not guilty." The process was of such a nature as to draw out the defense of the accused, and there is good excuse, we should think, for the confusion which existed.

The three charges of the libel were: 1. The publishing of opinions which contradict or are opposed to the inspiration, infallible truth, and divine authority of the Scriptures; 2. The publishing of opinions which are in themselves of a dangerous and unsettling tendency in their bearings on inspiration, etc.; 3. The publishing of opinions which, by their inaccuracy of statement and rashness of critical construction, tend to disparage the divine authority and inspired character of the Bible. The first charge was found relevant, but the eight specifications under it were decided to be irrelevant. The second charge was voted relevant, (21 to 20,) but on appeal to synod the decision was reversed. The third charge was declared to be irrelevant by a vote of 27 to 29. This was tantamount to an acquittal of the accused. There was nothing left before the presbytery to proceed to trial upon. The case came before the assembly in excellent shape for Professor Smith, where we may follow it at once, without reference to the intermediate action of synod or commission. The assembly, too, appeared to be in a mood more friendly to Professor Smith. The fact that committee, (college,) and presbytery, and synod had found no ground of condemnation could not fail to have some influence on its temper. There was a strong current of sympathy running through the assembly in favor of the accused. When he or Dr. Dods appeared they were greeted by the students and spectators with cheers, while the appellants were received frequently with hisses. There is no doubt that Professor Smith's bearing and brilliancy in the debates which followed won him many admirers, if not friends. He presented his defense not only with ability, but with a spirit of candor. His readiness of speech, his brilliant sallies, his wealth of resources in debate, his supreme confidence of being able to meet any questions that might be raised by his opponents, were apparently appreciated, and were effective in his behalf. His rather neat retort to Dr. Begg, who had said that some were trembling for the safety of the Church, was greatly relished, for the doctor, albeit of the soundest orthodoxy, is not considered the loveliest character in the Church. "I would warn him," said Professor Smith, "of the fate of Eli, who, trembling for the safety of the ark, fell and perished."

The vital question before the assembly—we may pass over the other points—was Professor Smith's view of Deuteronomy, stated in the second particular as follows :—

> That the book of inspired Scripture called Deuteronomy, which is professedly an historical record, does not possess that character; but was made to assume it by a writer of a much later age, who therein, in the name of God, presented in dramatic form instructions and laws as proceeding from the mouth of Moses, though these never were, and never could have been, uttered by him.

The position of the defense was, that this was not opposed to the Confession, which, indeed, says nothing as to how the books of the Bible were collected, or handed down, or as to who wrote them. It does not even attribute the books of the Pentateuch to Moses, nor the Psalms to David. Therefore, it was argued, the charge assumes what the Confession does not declare, and ought to fall. Sir Henry Moncreiff, who was the chief speaker in opposition to the accused, while admitting that the Confession lays down no theory of inspiration, contended that there might be theories of inspiration which the Church could not safely sanction. The Confession declares that the Bible is infallibly true: there is testimony in Deuteronomy and in other parts of the Bible that the book is historical, and even that it is of Mosaic authorship—therefore Professor Smith, in denying that it is "historical," denies the doctrine of the

Confession. His theory amounted to Kuenen's assertion, that Deuteronomy was a "pious fraud." How is it conceivable that God could inspire a man to write the book seven centuries after Moses' death, and impute it to Moses? It was a "literary impossibility." Destroy its historical character, and you destroy its inspiration. Furthermore, if such criticism can be made of Deuteronomy, why may it not be made of other books of the Bible? Who could then say what is authoritative? It was curious that the Jews should have preserved a book which was not what it assumed to be, and that Christ and his apostles should have quoted passages from it as coming from Moses.

It was not denied on the part of Professor Smith that his views differed from those held by the Church. But the views of the Church were not the standard by which he was to be condemned, but the Confession. It was true that the Confession required that the "inspiration, infallible truth, and divine authority" of the Scriptures should be accepted, but the accused did accept them, and of Deuteronomy, too. "The charge against me," he contended, "must fall to the ground if I can show that the traditional views which I have surrendered are really encumbered with difficulties so grave that it cannot be safe for the Church to forbid her members to aim at the construction of some more consistent account of the biblical facts." He did not hold that a "pious fraud" had been committed, but that the confusion arose from the meagerness of the Hebrew language at the time Deuteronomy was written. "Had the Deuteronomist lived in the nineteenth century he would very likely have prefaced the book with a preamble to the effect that it was a development of what had gone before;" but the Professor confessed if he were asked to translate such a preamble as that into Hebrew he should find himself nonplussed. The language had not then developed its abstract form of expression.

The arguments of Professor Smith, and speeches from such men as Dr. Rainy, Professor Salmond, and Dr. Candlish, to the effect that there had been no direct contradiction of the Confession, very nearly brought the assembly out from under the influence of Sir Henry Moncreiff. It was only by a majority of 23 votes in a total vote of 579, that the assembly passed a resolution declaring that, "according to the teaching of the

Confession. His theory succumbed to Kuenen's assertion, that Deuteronomy was a "pious fraud." How is it conceivable that God could inspire a man to write the book seven centuries after Moses' death, and impute it to Moses? It was a "literary impossibility." Destroy its historical character, and you destroy its inspiration. Furthermore, if such criticism can be made of Deuteronomy, why may it not be made of other books of the Bible? Who could then say what is authoritative? It was curious that the Jews should have preserved a book which was not what it assumed to be, and that Christ and his apostles should have quoted passages from it as coming from Moses.

It was not denied on the part of Professor Smith that his views differed from those held by the Church. But the views of the Church were not the standard by which he was to be condemned, but the Confession. It was true that the Confession required that the "inspiration, infallible truth, and divine authority" of the Scriptures should be accepted, but the accused did accept them, and of Deuteronomy, too. "The charge against me," he contended, "must fall to the ground if I can show that the traditional views which I have surrendered are really encumbered with difficulties so grave that it cannot be safe for the Church to forbid her members to aim at the construction of some more consistent account of the Biblical facts." He did not hold that a "pious fraud" had been committed, but that the confusion arose from the meagerness of the Hebrew language at the time Deuteronomy was written. "Had the Deuteronomist lived in the nineteenth century he would very likely have prefaced the book with a preamble to the effect that it was a development of what had gone before;" but the Professor confessed if he were asked to translate such a preamble as that into Hebrew, he should find himself nonplused. The language had not then developed its abstract form of expression.

The arguments of Professor Smith, and speeches from such men as Dr. Rainy, Professor Salmond, and Dr. Candlish, to the effect that there had been no direct contradiction of the Confession, very nearly brought the assembly over from under the influence of Sir Henry Moncreiff. It was only by a majority of 23 votes in a total vote of 579, that the assembly passed a resolution declaring that, "according to the teaching of the

Westminster Confession, Deuteronomy is a thoroughly inspired record." It also amended the libel, and sent it back to the Aberdeen Presbytery for re-trial. The new trial, begun in September, will doubtless end as did the former; the final issue must be fought in the assembly.

The "progressionists" claim a substantial victory in the fact that the assembly has virtually declared that liberty of speculation on biblical subjects may be enjoyed so long as the letter of the Confession is not violated; and one of them, Professor Lindsay, attempts* the rather difficult task of showing that the Church has declared that "critical freedom" and "dogmatical orthodoxy" are not "antagonistic," but may "co-exist." To most observers it seems rather that the Free Church is letting go its hold on "dogmatic orthodoxy," and beginning to drift on the same sea on which the Reformed Churches of the Continent wrecked their faith.†

◆

Art. VII.—THE ZENDAVESTA.‡

Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis. By Martin Haug, Ph.D., late Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Munich. Second Edition. Edited by E. W. West, Ph.D. London: Trübner. 1878.

Certain forms of Paganism which were once powerful and widely spread have passed away forever. "Cloud-compelling Zeus" no longer holds his throne on the snowy top of Olympus; and although the Parthenon still stands forth in the bright air of Attica a most majestic ruin, yet the name of the goddess whose image once guarded the stately fabric is a sound known in Athens itself only to a portion of the inhabitants. So have disappeared many other systems of belief: Druidism, the

---

* "Contemporary Review," August, 1878.

† Besides the publications already named, the following give information on matters treated in this article: Professor Smith's "Answer to Libel, and Additional Answer," etc., in pamphlets. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1878. "Report of Proceedings of Aberdeen Presbytery, with Form of Libel, and Report of Proceedings of Free Church Assembly of 1878." Edinburgh: J. Maclaren. "Speech on the Subordinate Standards," by Dr. Cairns. Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant & Co.

‡ We employ the usual designation. *The Avesta* would be more correct.

religion of the Celts; the faith of the Teutonic races, the broken relics of which are found in the Scandinavian Edda; the brute-worship of Egypt, so strangely combined with ideas of considerable elevation; the Syrian deities, Moloch, Chemosh, and the rest, whose character and worship Milton describes in four words, "lust hard by hate;" the Assyrian and Babylonian systems, which were noted chiefly for divination and magic; and the Phrygian and other religions of Asia Minor, which were enthusiastic, that is, wild and frantic, to an incredible degree—these, and many other forms of faith, have fallen, and cannot rise again. Recent investigations have been bringing to light a creed which was probably more ancient than any of those we have yet mentioned—that of the Akkadians; which was still more of a magical character than even those Babylonian and Assyrian systems which it powerfully affected.

But in the farther East there are forms of religion possessed of greater vitality than any of those we have enumerated. When we try to discover their origin, we have to search for it amid the darkness of a very remote past; and although all of them are wasted and worn, yet the day of their final dissolution may be still far off. One of these ancient Oriental systems is Zoroastrianism. Professor C. de Harlez, of Louvain, speaks in the following terms of this religion:—

> The religion which bears the name of Zoroaster, and of which the Avesta was the code, is certainly the most remarkable which profane antiquity produced. More than any other it approaches natural religion; it distinguishes itself among them all by conceptions more sober, more healthy, (*saines*,) and more moral. . . . We cannot, then, be surprised that the learned world takes a lively interest in investigating its date and its cradle.

Apart from its being the most ethical form of heathenism, it claims attentive regard as having been the faith of the ancient Persians, whose history touches so remarkably that of the Jews, the Babylonians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Moreover, none of the religions of pagan antiquity exercised a wider influence, or more largely attracted the attention of reflecting men, than that which was said to have been promulgated by the illustrious Zoroaster.

Very great obscurity still rests on the origin, the history, and the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. We regret that our limreligion of the Celts; the faith of the Teutonic races, the broken relics of which are found in the Scandinavian Edda; the brute-worship of Egypt, so strangely combined with ideas of considerable elevation; the Syrian deities, Moloch, Chemosh, and the rest, whose character and worship Milton describes in four words, "lust hard by hate;" the Assyrian and Babylonian systems, which were noted chiefly for divination and magic; and the Phrygian and other religions of Asia Minor, which were enthusiastic, that is, wild and frantic, to an incredible degree—these, and many other forms of faith, have fallen, and cannot rise again. Recent investigations have been bringing to light a creed which was probably more ancient than any of these we have yet mentioned—that of the Akkadians; which was still more of a magical character than even those Babylonian and Assyrian systems which it powerfully affected.

Yet in the farther East there are forms of religion possessed of greater vitality than any of those we have enumerated. When we try to discover their origin, we have to search for it amid the darkness of a very remote past; and although all of them are wasted and worn, yet the day of their final dissolution may be still far off. One of these ancient Oriental systems is Zoroastrianism. Professor C. de Harlez, of Louvain, speaks in the following terms of this religion:—

> The religion which bears the name of Zoroaster, and of which the Avesta was the code, is certainly the most remarkable which profane antiquity produced. More than any other it approaches natural religion; it distinguishes itself among them all by conceptions more sober, more healthy, profound and more moral. We cannot, then, be surprised that the learned world takes a lively interest in investigating its date and its cradle.

Apart from its being the most ethical form of heathenism, it claims attentive regard as having been the faith of the ancient Persians, whose history touches at so many points that of the Jews, the Babylonians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Moreover, none of the religions of pagan antiquity succeeded a wider influence, or more largely attracted the attention of reflecting men, than that which was said to have been promulgated by the illustrious Zoroaster.

Very great obscurity still rests on the origin, the history, and the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. We regret that our liits will not allow us to state with much fullness the process of investigation as it has been carried on by modern scholars. When the inquiry was commenced, nearly every thing was uncertain. Even before the Christian era all distinct traces of the age, the character, and the doings of Zoroaster had been lost. Pliny believed that there must have been more than one personage of the name; and Stanley, the author of a well-known "History of Philosophy," laboring to reduce to order the chaos of conflicting statements, was disposed to maintain that there must have been no fewer than six. Herodotus is the earliest Greek writer that refers to the Persian religion. Hermippus (B.C. 250) is said to have diligently examined the Zoroastrian books, and to have written a work on the Magi. It was probably from him that Plutarch drew the views of the Persian faith which are given in his treatise regarding Isis and Osiris. Agathias (A.D. 500) has a brief but valuable notice of the difference between the creed as it existed in his day and what he holds to have been its older form. After the conversion of Armenia to Christianity it had to maintain its faith against the fierce attacks of Zoroastrian Persia; and from some of the Armenian writers, particularly Eznik and Eliseus, we receive important statements regarding the Persian religion of the fourth and fifth centuries. After the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in the middle of the eighth century, Mohammedan writers not unfrequently mention the ancient faith of the country and its followers.

But when all the information that could be gleaned from the source we have mentioned was collected together, the result was far from satisfactory. The views of the various authors were often vague, and sometimes irreconcilable. Previous to the year 1700 no work of standard excellence had been published on the subject of the Zoroastrian faith. In that year, however, appeared a work entitled, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum*, by Dr. Thomas Hyde, Professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford. A second edition came out in 1760, in a volume of 580 pages. Hyde was a man of much learning, well acquainted with Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. He carried on his researches with praiseworthy zeal and perseverance, and amassed a large amount of information regarding the Persian faith; but his attempts to expound it were unsuc-

ful, simply because he could not command the materials on which alone a correct judgment could be based. He had in his possession two Zend manuscripts, and apparently he had succeeded in deciphering the characters; but to the language in which they were written he could procure no key. Still, he rendered great service by earnestly calling on Europeans residing in the East to aid in throwing light on the faith of Zoroaster. A considerable body of Zoroastrians resided in the west of India; and some of our countrymen in that land now began to exert themselves in the good work to which Hyde had summoned them. No one was more diligent than Mr. James Fraser, of Surat, whose magnificent collection of MSS. was handed over to the Radcliffe Library, at Oxford, about the middle of last century. This consisted chiefly of Persian and Sanscrit works. Mr. Fraser found the Parsis exceedingly suspicious and reserved, and with all his energy he could procure no more than two manuscripts in the ancient tongue of Persia. But before this (1723) another manuscript had been forwarded to Oxford, which had a somewhat remarkable influence. Hyde was now gone; and no scholar in England or in Europe was equal to the work of translating it. For thirty years it lay an unanswered challenge from the East to all the boasted learning of the West. In 1754 Anquetil du Perron, then about twenty-two years old, saw in Paris a copy of some pages of this mysterious document. "On the instant," says he, "I determined to enrich my country with that singular work. I resolved to translate it, and with that view to go and learn the ancient Persian language in Guzerat [in western India] or Kirman [in Persia]." The whole story, indeed, reads like a romance. Of late years Anquetil has been rather severely handled, and his reputation as an accurate scholar has been pulled to pieces. But let us not forget his great merits. His zeal and energy were indomitable. He enlisted as a soldier in the service of the French East India Company, literally running away from his relatives, who deemed his scheme almost insane. He was quite ready to meet any hardships. His "petit equipage" comprised "two shirts, two handkerchiefs, and a pair of stockings." A case of mathematical instruments, a few books, (a Hebrew Bible among them,) were added; and the young adventurer stood equipped for his great undertaking!

Anquetil spent five years in India. It was at Surat that he came in contact with the Parsis. He had the greatest difficulty both in obtaining a copy of their sacred books, and in inducing them to give the interpretation. Such, however, as they gave he wrote down, the medium of communication between him and the Parsis being modern Persian. He arrived in Portsmouth in November, 1761; visited Oxford, compared his own MSS. with those he saw there, and found little or no disagreement between them; proceeded to Paris, and deposited in the Bibliothèque du Roi his splendid collection of one hundred and eighty-eight MSS. in various Oriental languages. In 1771 appeared his great work, with the title, *Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les idées Theologiques, Physiques, et Morales, de ce Legislateur traduit en François, sur l' original Zend*, par M. Anquetil du Perron. Tomes 2; Paris, 1771.

Anquetil had written several papers in the literary journals of France by way of preparing the world for his great work. Expectation stood on tiptoe. For ages Zoroaster had been a great and venerable name. The long-silent oracle was to become vocal at last; what would its message prove? On the whole, the disappointment was general and profound. Some of Anquetil's countrymen, such as the Abbé de Foucher, expressed almost contempt for the book; Englishmen like Jones and Richardson maintained it could only be a forgery; as did also the German critics, Meiners and Tychsen, while Kant complained that he had read the whole book without finding in it the slightest trace of philosophic thought. On the other hand, Kleuker translated Anquetil's work into German, in six volumes folio, enriching it with copious notes and dissertations, and with answers to objections. This was between 1776 and 1783.

The critical investigation of the Zendavesta then slumbered until it was taken up afresh by the great French scholar, Burnouf. In 1829–33 he published a lithographed edition of one of Anquetil's MSS. In 1833–35 appeared his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, which contains a very elaborate and minute investigation of the first of the seventy-two chapters of the Zend liturgy. In 1844–46 he printed in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris an equally careful examination of the ninth chapter. Burnouf deserves the highest commendation for his painstak-

ing accuracy. Although an excellent Sanscrit scholar, yet he was not familiar with the language in the form in which it most closely approaches Zend, that is, in the archaic dialect used in the Vedas; and this renders the success he attained the more remarkable. Anquetil had made wild work of cases and terminations, as well as tenses; but Burnouf, by careful comparison with Sanscrit, was able to discover the inflections, and thus to lay a solid basis for Zend grammar. It now became manifest that Anquetil's so-called translation of the Zendavesta was loose and inaccurate throughout. For this we need not blame him over much. As we have indicated, he had simply received what the Parsi priests had told him, without having time, even if he had possessed the skill, to correct their inexact renderings.

While the examination of the ancient Persian books was thus steadily advancing, the cuneiform inscriptions, of which Grotefend had with marvelous acuteness commenced the analysis, were beginning to disclose their secrets under the persevering zeal of Rawlinson, Hincks, and others. One language proved to be a sister tongue of the Zend, or, as it was generally regarded, Zend itself in a somewhat later form. The result of this interesting discovery was, that it all but silenced the voice of those who had maintained that the Zend books, and the Zend language itself, were nothing but forgeries. This opinion, which was held by men of no mean scholarship, such as Vans Kennedy, of Bombay, appears now no less amazing than the hypothesis advanced by Dugald Stewart, and others, that Sanscrit itself was fabricated, in imitation of Greek, by artful Brahmans after Alexander's invasion of India.

A very excellent paper on the sacred books of the Parsis, by Mr. William Erskine, had appeared in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay; but, on the whole, not very much had been done in India itself to throw light on the ancient Persian faith. In 1839, however, the baptism of two Parsi youths, pupils in the Scottish Missionary Institution, threw the Parsi community into great excitement; and much was said on the necessity of studying and defending the Zoroastrian books. The missionaries, on their part, were not idle. Early in 1843 the Rev. Dr. Wilson published a work on the Parsi religion, of which Dr. Haug thus writes: "The first

work written in English which shows any acquaintance with the original Avesta texts was the Rev. Dr. Wilson's book, which, although it relies chiefly on the results of Burnouf's researches, also contains frequent indications of independent investigation." Dr. Haug was not given to excessive laudation; and it is greatly to Dr. Wilson's credit that, in the midst of multifarious duties, he should have accomplished so much in the study of a language of exceeding difficulty.

Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen, who had visited both Western India and Persia in quest of ancient manuscripts, published in 1851 a lithographed edition of *Bundahish*—a work written, not in Zend, but in Pahlavi, a language of which more will be said by and by. In 1852 he commenced to print an edition of the Zendavesta itself, promising also a translation, dictionary, and grammar. As yet, however, only the Zend text has appeared. Westergaard is a most accurate scholar. He doubtless finds his way beset with all but insuperable difficulties, and hesitates to print what does not satisfy his own severely critical mind. But more than twenty years of labor ought to produce something of enduring value.

Professor Spiegel, of Erlangen, has long been a very diligent student of Parsi archæology, and since 1851 has published many valuable works. His German version of the Vendidad appeared in 1852, and was followed in 1853–58 by two volumes containing the Zend text accompanied by the Pahlavi translation. By 1863 Spiegel had completed his translation of the Zendavesta in three volumes. It has been rendered into English by Bleeck.

We come now to speak of the researches of Dr. Martin Haug. He commenced the study of Zend in 1852, and turned his attention to the five Gāthas—a portion of the Zendavesta which Westergaard had shown to be metrical. Anquetil's translation of these he found to be entirely erroneous; it afforded "no assistance." With immense energy he worked his way for more than six years, trusting to the aid of comparative philology in his effort to interpret the enigmatical Zend. Vedic Sanscrit, Pahlavi, modern Persian, Armenian, and occasionally Latin and Greek, were all laid under contribution. The result was the publication in 1858–60 of a work in German, entitled "The Five Gāthas, a collection of Songs and Sayings of Zoroaster,

(Zarathustra,) his Disciples and Successors," edited, translated, and explained. It was evident at a glance that Haug had in this work advanced the investigation far beyond the limit reached even by Burnouf; but at the same time it was difficult to follow him in his bold renderings, the sense being often extorted, rather than extracted. Haug was a pupil of Ewald's, and, like his teacher, was possessed of immense enthusiasm, but, at the same time, was somewhat rash, dogmatical, and pugnacious. His attacks on his countryman, Spiegel, a most diligent explorer of Persian antiquity, were harsh even to bitterness; although undoubtedly Haug was the profounder scholar in Zend and Sanscrit, and more frequently in the right than Spiegel. He proceeded to India, having been appointed Professor of Sanscrit in the Government College at Poona, and carried on his investigations, both in Zend and Sanscrit, with unflagging zeal. In 1862 he published in English a volume entitled, "Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis." The second essay contained an outline of Zend grammar, and was a new and very important aid to the acquisition of the language. It is a second and enlarged edition of this work which now lies before us, as it has been published by Dr. West. Haug himself has passed away, worn out, we fear, by too persistent toil; but his friend, Dr. West, himself a very careful student of Parsi antiquity, has done full justice to the work. Our only regret is that it is not possible for any one who does not possess the first edition to discover the extent of Dr. West's enlargement and emendation of the original work. The essay on Zend grammar is omitted; but compensation is made by the insertion of the results of many of Dr. Haug's later researches.

The investigation of the Zendavesta is still diligently prosecuted. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and in the transactions of various societies on the Continent, papers on Zoroastrianism of no small value appear from time to time. Among the writers who have of late become prominent in this branch of study we may mention Professor C. de Harlez, of Louvain, and Professor Darmesteter, of Paris. The former has published (1875–77) a French translation of the Avesta in three volumes, with valuable notes. Professor Darmesteter has written several papers, the most important being a very

(Zarathustra,) his Disciples and Successors," edited, translated, and explained. It was evident at a glance that Haug had in this work advanced the investigation far beyond the limit reached even by Burnouf; but at the same time it was difficult to follow him in his bold renderings, the sense being often extorted, rather than extracted. Haug was a pupil of Ewald, and, like his teacher, was possessed of immense enthusiasm, but, at the same time, was somewhat rash, dogmatical, and pugnacious. His attacks on his countryman, Spiegel, a most diligent explorer of Persian antiquity, were harsh even to bitterness; although undoubtedly Haug was the profounder scholar in Zend and Sanscrit, and more frequently in the right than Spiegel. He proceeded to India, having been appointed Professor of Sanscrit in the Government College at Poona, and carried on his investigations, both in Zend and Sanscrit, with unflagging zeal. In 1862 he published in English a volume entitled, "Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis." The second essay contained an outline of Zend grammar, and was a new and very important aid to the acquisition of the language. It is a second and enlarged edition of this work which now lies before us, as it has been published by Dr. West. Haug himself has passed away, worn out, we fear, by too persistent toil; but his friend, Dr. West, himself a very careful student of Parsi antiquity, has done full justice to the work. Our only regret is that it is not possible for any one who does not possess the first edition to discover the extent of Dr. West's enlargement and emendation of the original work. The essay on Zend grammar is omitted; but compensation is made by the insertion of the results of many of Dr. Haug's later researches.

The investigation of the Zendavesta is still diligently prosecuted. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and in the transactions of various societies on the Continent, papers on Zoroastrianism of no small value appear from time to time. Among the writers who have of late become prominent in this branch of study we may mention Professor C. de Harlez, of Louvain, and Professor Darmesteter, of Paris. The former has published (1875–77) a French translation of the Avesta in three volumes, with valuable notes. Professor Darmesteter has written several papers, the most important being a very full and acute essay on "Ormazd and Ahriman," which appeared last year. (In these two names the reader will easily recognize the celebrated Oromasdes and Arimanes, the principles, respectively, of light and darkness, good and evil.) Controversy still rages among scholars regarding the ancient faith of Persia, and even on fundamental points. We have just been reading in the *Journal Asiatique* an elaborate refutation by Professor de Harlez, of Professor Darmesteter's views of the original form of Zoroastrianism. While we can now trace the great religion of India without interruption almost up to its fountain-head, the mode of its historical development for nearly four thousand years being fairly well understood, it is far otherwise with the ancient religion of Persia.

We purposely abstain from entering on questions which are still earnestly contested among scholars; we shall content ourselves with mentioning some particulars regarding which there is pretty general agreement.

The term Zendavesta, by which Europeans usually designate the ancient Persian Scripture, is not used by the Parsis, and is really not correct. *Avastā va Zand*, that is, text and version, would be more exact. Avesta (in Pahlavi *Avistak*) is understood by the Parsis to denote the text, and Zend (*Zand*) the translation into Pahlavi, with comments frequently appended, which was made probably about the middle of the third century after Christ, or, according to some, at a considerably earlier date. *Avistak* is rendered by Haug *knowledge*, so that it would correspond in meaning with *Veda*, the name of the most ancient Hindu writings. The derivation, however, is doubtful. Professor de Harlez elaborately examines the meaning of the terms Avesta and Zend, and comes to the conclusion that they mean *law* and *commentary*. The Zendavesta, as we find it, is not a large book. It is much smaller than the Shastras of the Hindus, and is nearly the size of the Old and New Testaments taken together. Hymns, prayers, laws, legends, all thrown together in a state which we may call chaotic, compose the Zendavesta. Hermippus informs us that Zoroaster composed two millions of verses; but the small extent and the confused character of the Zendavesta may probably be accounted for by the convulsions which occurred in Persian history in connection with the invasion of the country by Alex-

ander the Great. To Alexander the Parsi traditions uniformly ascribed the destruction of nearly all the ancient books. They say that of twenty-one *nasks* (the meaning of the word is uncertain; call it *divisions*) only one survives in a complete form. The Zendavesta, as it now stands, consists of the following books: Yasna, Visparad, Vendidad, and the Yashts, with a few additional short prayers and fragments, and the Sirozah, or Calendar. This, at least, is the order followed by Westergaard in his careful edition of the text; but two modes of arranging their sacred books have long existed among the Parsis.

The Yasna (literally *sacrifice*) is a liturgical work, which contains chiefly prayers addressed to various objects of worship. It consists of two parts, which differ considerably. The second part contains the Gāthas or hymns, which are very different in character from the rest of the Zoroastrian books. They may be compared, though the difference is not small, with the hymns of the Rig Veda.

The Visparad (*vispe ratavo—all the chiefs**) is similar to the Yasna. It contains twenty-three chapters.

The Vendidad (*vī daevo dātem*, that is, *given against the demons*) contains twenty-two chapters. It presents the judicial code, containing the religious, civil, and criminal laws of the ancient Persians. The ceremonial observances prescribed are exceedingly minute; Haug compares them to the injunctions of the Talmud. The first three chapters of the Vendidad contains historical or legendary matter, apparently respecting the early settlements of the Aryan race. The last three chapters chiefly consist of charms for the cure of diseases.

The Yashts (*yeshti—worship through prayer and sacrifice*) are twenty in number; each being directed to the glorification of a single being, or a single class of beings, mostly angels. Offerings are made and blessings are supplicated in language which sometimes rises into a metrical cadence. The Yashts contain legends regarding prehistoric times, and probably formed one main source of the heroic tales embodied in the great epic poem of Persia—the "Book of Kings," the Shāhnāma of Firdansi.

The text of the Zendavesta in all the MSS. is essentially the

---

* That is, both of the visible and invisible worlds—prayers being addressed to them.

same, and only the spelling varies. Yet the book, as it comes before us, appears in a very disjointed state. Mutilations, uncouth expressions, unintelligible phrases, occur on every page. When we compare the Pahlavi version with the original, great discrepancies are seen. Nor have we any MSS. of great antiquity to aid us in our efforts to secure accurate readings. The two oldest MSS. bear the date of 1323 A.D., though the dates of 1258 and 1186 are given for copies now lost. Scholars who labor on the Zendavesta are often driven to that most undesirable resource, conjectural emendation. "The MSS. of the Yashta," says Westergaard, "present a mass of corrupt readings," and forthwith he proceeds to change them. The alternative seems either to do this, or let the Zendavesta speak stark nonsense. Let us, however, exercise a little patience, especially considering how limited as yet is our knowledge of the Zend tongue.*

The Zendavesta can be traced with no small confidence up to the third century after Christ. The character in which it is written is of Shemitic origin; it is not very different from the Syriac alphabet used in the first century, and it is still more closely allied to the writing used on the monuments and coins of the Sasanian kings of Persia. The present form of writing, then, we cannot carry farther back than the third century after Christ. If the Zendavesta was committed to writing before that date, it probably was in a different character. Between the Sasanian inscriptions and those of Darius in the cuneiform character there was an interval of more than five hundred years. No inscriptions dating from any portion of this long period have come down to us; so that we cannot determine in what character the Zendavesta may have been then written, if, indeed, it was written at all.

The five centuries that succeeded the invasion of Persia by Alexander were a trying time for the Zoroastrians. Persia soon fell under the power of the Parthians, probably a Turanian race, who, although their religion was largely the worship of the elements, certainly neglected the ancient Persian faith. Zoroastrianism seems to have greatly declined. But early in the third century after Christ there arose a remarkable man,

---

* One of the Yashts Spiegel entirely omits in his translation. He regards the text as hopelessly corrupt.

Ardasher Babegan, (called Artaxerxes by the Greeks and Romans,) who annihilated the Parthian power, and won for himself a kingdom not unworthy of succeeding the empire of the "great kings" of ancient days. He strove to revive the spirit of patriotism. He called religion to his aid; and, summoning the priests from every part of his dominions, found the call responded to by eighty thousand holy men. So runs the Parsi legend, which we need not follow into its minute and foolish details, but which implies that the king was most anxious to restore the knowledge and the practice of the old religion.

It is only up to this date, then, that we trace the Zendavesta with any confidence. If written books of the ancient faith then existed, they doubtless were eagerly gathered together; and what had been handed down by oral tradition would certainly be committed to writing. The result was the Zendavesta as it stands, issued by royal authority as the sacred book of the revived Persian Empire.

Although we do not know that the Zendavesta had been previously committed to writing, it is exceedingly probable that it had been at least composed before the invasion of Persia by Alexander. The modern Parsis maintain that Zoroaster flourished in the reign of Gushtasp, whom they identify with Hystaspes, the father of Darius. But the whole current of investigation tends to throw him back to a far more ancient time. "Under no circumstances," says Haug, "can we assign him a later date than B.C. 1000; and we may even find reasons for placing his date much earlier, and making him a contemporary of Moses." If, as Haug contends, the greater part of the verses in the first two Gāthas can be traced to Zoroaster himself, he cannot well be assigned to a later date than B.C. 1000. But that the Gāthas were composed by him or his first followers is not by any means proved. The whole subject, indeed, is infinitely perplexing. We are not certain, even, of the meaning of the name Zoroaster, (in Zend, *Zarathustra.*) Haug may be correct in understanding the term as a designation nearly equivalent to the modern word *dastur*, or priest; so that a succession of Zoroasters is by no means improbable, of whom the most distinguished was the one celebrated in the Zendavesta, Spitama Zarathustra. His home probably was in Bactria, as has been generally held.

Haug ascribes to Zarathustra a noble personality and much mental enlightenment.* He does so on the ground of the comparatively pure and elevated teaching of the Gāthas, which he ascribes largely to him. Unhappily, even if we could prove the Gāthas to be the composition of Zoroaster, we are far from certain as to their signification. When we compare the version of Spiegel with that of Haug, it is often difficult to believe that they had the same text before them. Spiegel has mentioned that there are two different directions (*richtungen*) in which the translation of the Avesta may proceed, the one being that which follows the traditional rendering of the Parsis, while the other is guided by comparative etymology. He adopts the former road; Haug decidedly prefers the latter. Surely, however, it ought to be possible to correct the aberrations of tradition by comparative etymology, and to throw light on dubious points in etymology by the aid of tradition. Meanwhile, it is not satisfactory to see our two greatest authorities on Zend engaged in such serious conflict.

In whatever age they were composed, the Gāthas are of a truly remarkable character. Perplexing as the language often is, yet we may thus state their general import. They describe the splendor of the fire; they declare the great words made known to Zarathustra by Ahura-mazda, (Oromasdes;) they enjoin the cultivation of the soil; and they inculcate the necessity of purity in thought, word, and deed. Of ceremonial rites little is said; the "true rites" are declared to be the reverence of the fire, and the cultivation of the ground.

Haug earnestly contends that the fundamental idea of Zoroaster's theology was monotheism. His predecessors seem to have worshiped a plurality of good spirits. He reduced this plurality to unity. The new name by which he called the Supreme Being was *Ahura-mazdao—ahura* meaning "living" or "lord," and *mazdao* "wise" or "creator." At the same time Haug admits that "the principle of his speculative philosophy was dualism—that is, the supposition of two primeval causes, which, though different, are united." But even if we accept Haug's renderings, it is not easy to agree with his view

---

* "A great and deep thinker, who stood far above his contemporaries, and even above the most enlightened men of many subsequent centuries."—*Haug's Essays*, p. 300.

of theology. According to him, two spirits, a white and black—a good and a bad—"are supposed to be united in Ahura-mazda," and "inherent in his nature."* This would be in itself a tremendous dogma, inconsistent with the strong denunciations of evil that perpetually occur. Far more probable is the old belief that Zoroaster believed in two original independent principles. Professor Darmesteter powerfully supports this view. The faith, according to him, was essentially dualism, the history of the world being considered a struggle for supremacy between two independent beings—the evil and the good. Professor Darmesteter holds that Ahura-mazda, the good principle, originally was simply heaven, and that out of the conception of a material heaven was gradually developed that of a being possessed of pure moral attributes. To that view we do not commit ourselves.

Even Haug admits that, although the Magi clung to the doctrine of the divine unity, yet gradually an influential sect arose that strongly held the belief of dualism. The Magi sought to refute the heresy by new interpretations of certain texts. Hence arose the belief that the Supreme Being of the Parsis was *Zarvna Akarana*, (generally rendered, *Time without bounds.*) The belief was grounded on mistranslation; but during the revived Persian monarchy it was extensively accepted.

Taking the Zendavesta as a whole, the creed must be called polytheistic. Although on the rock-inscriptions of Darius, *Auramazda* (the name being so written) is still called "the greatest of the objects of worship," yet in various passages he is put on a level with angels, and is even represented as worshiping the angel Anahit. A luxuriant mythology is also embodied in the Zendavesta, in what probably is its later part, almost as wild as that of the Hindus; and the conceptions of an unbridled fancy came to be understood in a badly literal sense. Thus Mithra, the angel of the sun, "has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, and sleeplessly watches over living beings." The planet Mercury is said to have the body of a bull, with hoofs of gold.

Herodotus remarked that the Persians worshiped the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and winds. They worshiped also the

---

* "Essays," p. 304.

stars, trees, mountains, their own souls, departed souls, and so on. The words of adoration are much the same whatever the objects they are addressed to.

While, according to Haug, the original Zoroastrian belief was in "two creative spirits, who form only two parts of the divine Being," yet these soon came to be attended by other spirits, each having his own council, so to speak. The number of assistant spirits or councilors, in either case, was six. The good spirits were called *Amesha spentas*, or "immortal benefactors." Sometimes the good supreme Spirit is included along with his councilors, and the number of *Amesha spentas* thus becomes seven. But in the Gāthas there is no mention of these as councilors: the several names denoting apparently qualities, and not personal beings. Haug earnestly maintains that the only superhuman beings mentioned by Zoroaster are Ahura-mazda and his two spirits. This would imply that primary Zoroastrianism made no reference to angels.

One of the most remarkable doctrines of the Parsi faith is that of the resurrection. We may call Parsiism the only form of paganism that held the belief; for the doctrine of the ancient Egyptians, which has sometimes been identified with it, was that of transmigration. It is not easy to say when and how the Persians adopted the belief. A phrase in the Avesta, which Anquetil had translated, "till the resurrection," was conclusively shown by Burnouf to convey no such meaning; and that great scholar asserted that the older Zend writings did not contain the doctrine. Haug, however, sees in the Gāthas "the germs of the doctrine." He finds a phrase by which, in the later Zend books, is understood a final *palingenesia*, of which the resurrection is a part. The phrase literally means "lasting life." Even if, in the later books, the expression *frasho-kereti*, or *perpetuation* of life, denotes the time of the palingenesia, we cannot throw back that newer sense into the earlier hymns, so that Burnouf's dictum regarding the resurrection is untouched. How far even the later books contain it is a question as yet undetermined. The passage mainly relied on by the modern Parsis as expressing the doctrine is in the Vendidad, (Fargard xix, 86.) Spiegel, much as he is inclined to follow Parsi tradition, here renders the Zend term *hakhsānē* by *Soll ich auffordern*, and in a note states distinctly that when

the Vendidad was written the doctrine of the resurrection was not yet known among the Parsis, (*noch nicht bei den Parsen bekannt war.*) The doctrine does come forward in certain passages, (particularly in Yasht 19th,) provided the text and the usual rendering be correct. Spiegel recognizes the resurrection in several passages. In a book written not in Zend, but Pahlavi, the Bundahish, the doctrine is clear enough. But although this work may present old traditions, yet, as it stands, it contains, in the words of Mr. W. Erskine, "much that is evidently Chaldean, and later than the Musalmans." This whole subject deserves the fullest investigation. Meantime, enough has been said to show that the opinion* that the Jews borrowed the belief from the Persians is wholly unproved, and the reverse of probable. Speaking of this doctrine and that regarding the devil, Haug uses the following words: "It is not ascertained whether these doctrines were borrowed by the Parsis from the Jews, or, by the Jews from the Parsis. Very likely neither is the case; and in both these religions they seem to have sprung up independently."

We would at present simply throw out the following as an important question, What was the influence of the Jews in developing Persian thought? The people who powerfully affected the Arab mind, and of whose influence over even the Roman mind Seneca could say *victoribus victi leges dederunt*, can hardly have been an inoperative factor among the sympathetic Persians, while the belief of the latter was still growing. Moreover, the Persians were a receptive people. Herodotus tells us that they adopted new deities from the Assyrians and Arabs. The goddess Anāhita, (Anaitis,) whose worship spread widely from the days of Artaxerxes Mnemon, was certainly of Shemitic origin. The relation of Zoroastrianism to both the Talmud and the Kabbala is also deserving of careful study.

The influence of the Persian faith on other systems was far from inconsiderable. When Persia became the leading kingdom of the world the religious conceptions which the State patronized necessarily affected those of the nations around. It

---

* "Die Juden dieses dogma aus der Zoroastrischen theologie aufnahmen." Such is the assumption of Gesenius in his "Commentary on Isaiah xxvi, 9." So said many others.

is F. Schlegel, we think, who affirms that the wars of Darius and Xerxes with Greece might be called sacred wars, having had a religious, as much as a political, end in view. The name Zoroaster soon became famous, and he was referred to a fabulously remote antiquity. Even when the Persian kingdom had been overthrown by Alexander, the influence of its faith did not wholly pass away. The worship of Mithras, the regent of the sun, gained ground in the time of the Roman emperors. The strong dualism of the Persian creed reappeared in several of the forms of Gnosticism. Zoroastrian oracles were appealed to. Then in Manes we have a truly remarkable phenomenon. He blended the teachings of Zoroaster with those of Christ, and, to some extent, those of the Indian Buddha. But of the wide extension and long endurance of the Manichean system we have no time to speak.

The growth of the Persian religion was very unlike that of Hinduism. Originally the two systems were closely allied, the Ahura-mazda of the former being the same with the "divine Varuna" (asura Varuna) of the latter. But whereas in India Varuna, with his strictly moral attributes, was superseded by Indra, the tumultuous god of the nearer sky, the conception of Ahura-mazda became still purer and more exalted. Thereafter the two streams of thought flowed more and more apart. The Persians turned the gods (*devas*) of the Hindus into demons, helpers of the evil principle; and Indra, the chief deity of the Veda, became the head of the diabolic council. The Hindus, ere long, became idolaters; and a portentous mythology, in which the distinction between god and devil was lost, was steadily developed. Further, the Hindu gradually subsided into a kind of apathy, a passive acquiescence with the world as it is. Strong in speculation, he was ever weak in action. Regarding the Persian system, on the other hand, the following points are deserving of special notice:—

It continued to be marked by that abhorrence of image-worship which Herodotus describes.

The great object of worship, Ahura-mazda, was held to be possessed only of pure moral attributes. Other objects, indeed, shared in the worship; but these were all portions of the good creation.

The true worshiper of Ahura-mazda must contend with all

earnestness against the productions of the evil principle. Weak in speculation, the Persian was in action strong.

The Persian system earnestly dwells on the necessity of a threefold morality—*humata*, *hūkhta*, and *huvarshta*, that is, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. No corresponding formula appears in the Hindu books.

We could almost wish that the great Macedonian ("the accursed Alexander," as the Parsis call him) had never conquered Persia, that so we might have seen how the Zoroastrian faith would have unfolded itself. As revived in the third century, it was a sternly intolerant system—a State religion, maintained chiefly for State purposes. When the victorious Arabs crushed the restored Persian monarchy, after it had existed little more than four hundred years, Zoroastrianism rapidly melted away. In Persia itself the followers of the ancient faith were described thirty-five years ago by Westergaard as a miserable remnant, "steadily sinking deeper and deeper in wretchedness and poverty." Latterly things have not at all improved. It is probable that the religion of Zoroaster may be extinguished in Persia within a generation or two. The Parsis in India do not seem to increase; but they are enterprising, and on the whole enlightened. One inquires with anxiety what their religious future is to be. On some fundamental points their ideas have been powerfully affected both by Mohammedanism and Christianity. They now speak of God and of the devil (Shaitan, Satan, as they generally call him) in language borrowed, to a much larger extent than they are at all aware of, from the Bible and the Koran. Still they cling to the honored name of Zoroaster and to those old scriptures of theirs, which even their priests cannot interpret, with a pathetic fondness. Yet we believe the thoughtful among them are persuaded that in the nineteenth century the religion of races truly civilized must be Christianity. Of many of the ritual observances which their books inculcate they have become ashamed. Let us hope and pray that the day may be drawing nigh when this interesting remnant of a once mighty people will take upon them the easy yoke of Christ. Even as the Magi from the East, who probably were Zoroastrians, were the first of Gentiles to bow at the feet of the new-born Redeemer of the world, so now shall not the Parsis be the first of Oriental races to yield,

as a race, the homage due to that true Sun of righteousness whose symbol only they now adore? Thus might the Parsis, as a small, compact, conspicuous band, like the "immortals" of their ancient kings, become the leaders of the regenerated East. It is high time for them to awake. If they do not, the priceless honor now within their grasp will, to the Parsis as a community, ere long be lost forever.

NOTE.—We have spoken of books composed in the dialect usually called Zend. Some reference ought also to be made to that known by the name of Phalavi. The language of Persia during the Sasanian dynasty may be included under the name. It is remarkable for the large admixture which it contains of Shemitic vocables. The Persian kings used it in their rock-inscriptions and on coins. The language thus bridges over the interval between Zend and modern Persian, the latter commencing, to speak somewhat vaguely, in the eighth century after Christ. Persian, as generally written, contains a great amount of Arabic; but the Shemitic words in Pahlavi very seldom coincide with the Shemitic words in Persian. Pahlavi is altogether a peculiar tongue. A translation of the Avesta exists in Pahlavi. The first chapter of the Vendidad has just been published, with a translation and notes, by Geiger. The Pahlavi version is valuable as exhibiting the traditional interpretation of the Avesta as it existed among the Parsis under the Sasanian kings; but Zend by that time was a dead language, and the Pahlavi version is far from a safe guide.

Several other works exist in Pahlavi, among which the Ardā Virāf Nāmah, Bundahish, Dinkard, Vajar-kard, and Minok-i-khard, are the most remarkable. They shed much light on religious thought and life as these existed among the Zoroastrians under the revived Persian empire. They are marked generally by a fairly pure morality and an excessive and often childish ritualism.

We may still briefly point out the references to the Parsi religion that are found in the Christian Scriptures. In Ezekiel viii, 16, 17, we read of men worshiping the sun toward the east, and "putting the branch to their nose," that is, bringing a twig toward their face. We know, both from the testimony of Strabo and from coins, that the Magi did so in prayer. The

Parsi priests still employ a bundle of twigs (called Barsom) in the same manner.

In the designation (Isa. xlvi, 11) given to Cyrus, עיט, (which may be rendered *αετός*, "eagle," instead of "ravenous bird,") there is an allusion to the eagle as the ensign of the ancient Persians. In the address to Cyrus in Isa. xlv, 7, occurs the very striking verse, "Forming light and creating darkness; making peace and creating evil; I, Jehovah, am doing all these." It seems highly probable that here we have an allusion to the Parsi doctrine, which referred the creation of light and good to Ahura-mazda, and that of darkness and evil to Anro-mainyus, (Ahriman,) the constant opponent of the good power. He who says to Cyrus, "I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me," proclaims to the great conqueror that he is Jehovah, doing, and doing alone, the whole creative work.

In the Zendavesta itself we find only two words which are probably Shemitic—*hara*, a mountain, a *tanūra*, an oven.

In the Hebrew Scriptures there are several words of Persian origin, and of course many proper names. The most notable term is the word for *Paradise.* The Hebrew *pardes* (פַּרְדֵּס) is found in the later books, as Sol. Song iv, 13, where it is rendered in our version *orchard;* Neh. ii, 8, rendered *forest;* and Eccles. ii, 5, in the plural, rendered *orchards.* The word has often been traced to the Sanscrit *paradesha;* but that term properly means *foreign country.* Haug derives it from the Zend *pairi-daēza*, which simply means *circumvallation*, *inclosure.*

The terms מָג (*Māg*) (Jer. xxxix, 3) and *μάγοι* (Matt. ii, 1) are derived from the Zend *magava*, which in the cuneiform inscriptions is given as *magush.*

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Catholic University Question in Ireland and England. 2. The Position of the Blessed Virgin in Catholic Theology. 3. Sir Thomas More. 4. The Total Solar Eclipse of July 29th, 1878. 5. Ritualism in its Relation to Catholicity on the One Hand, and to Protestantism on the Other. 6. The Jewish Element in the Church a Proof of its Apostolic Origin. 7. Meteorological Aspects of the Pacific Coast. 8. Cathedral Chapters as Adapted to the United States. 9. The Labor Question.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1878. (Andover.)—1. Isocrates. 2. The Concept of God as the Ground of Progress. 3. Christian Perfection. 4. Doctrine of the Epistle of James. 5. On Assyriology—A Criticism. 6. Symmetry and Rhythm. 7. The Controversy among the Protestant Missionaries on the Proper Translation of the Words God and Spirit into Chinese.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, October, 1878. (Gettysburg.)—1. How shall we Train the Ministry for the Times. 2. Ansgar. 3. Ascensio Isaiæ. 4. Studies in Gospel Harmony. 5. The Power of Darkness. 6. The Fullness of Christ. 7. Hartwick Seminary.

NEW ENGLANDER, November, 1878. (New Haven.)—1. A Scholar of the Twelfth Century. 2. Reconstruction of the History of the Early Roman Catholic Legislation in Maryland with Regard to Religious Freedom. 3. Spinoza. 4. The Proper Attitude of Religious Teachers toward Scientific Experts. 5. Reaction of New England on English Puritanism in the Seventeenth Century. 6. Shall we Adhere to the English Method of Pronouncing Latin? 7. Latin Pronunciation.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, November–December, 1878. (New York.)—1. The Government of the United States. 2. Systems of Offense and Defense in Naval Warfare. 3. The Congress of Berlin and its Consequences. 4. Japan and the Western Powers. 5. The Financial Resources of New York. 6. The Public Health. 7. Pessimism in the Nineteenth Century. 8. Antipathy to the Negro. 9. The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity.

Mr. Parton's article on the "negro" is interesting as coming from a "democrat" of the old Jeffersonian school. Its three positions are: 1. That there is no natural antipathy to the negro, all our repugnance being artificial; 2. The negro is inferior intellectually to the Caucasian, no pure negroes having attained even a tenth place in literature, or any other intellectuality; and, 3. It was a fearful misfortune for the negro to have been enfranchised and brought into politics. On each of these three points we agree and disagree with Mr. Parton.

First, There is, if not an "antipathy," a self-preference in each race. The standard of sexual beauty is different in each from the other. Hence, while we condemn all laws prohibiting intermarriage as an unnecessary intermeddling, we believe that without any disturbing influence amalgamation would grow increasingly rare. Slavery was such a disturbing in-

fluence, producing lawless amalgamation. Freedom has, as we are well informed, diminished mulattoism.

Second, That the negro is inferior to the Caucasian we suppose is shown both by history and physiology, but not to the extent affirmed. Professor Blyden, whose article in Fraser's Magazine we quoted in our last Quarterly, is a pure negro; and his standing is far above tenth rate, and not much inferior to Mr. Parton's own. We prefer as an intellectual production Blyden's in Fraser to Parton's in the North American.

Third, It is a misfortune for the negro, not that he is admitted into politics, but that the politics into which he is admitted are so hostile and repressive. As a voter he votes more wisely than the Northern imported Irishman. But he comes as an inferior in collision with not only a cerebrally superior, but a wealthier, more cultured, and a hostile race. And the difficulty of the problem is that his political predominance in any State would depreciate the standard of its civilization. We should feel no little sympathy with Charleston struggling against a half-civilized majority, were it not that Charleston rejoices apparently in seeing New York governed by incivilization, and sustains its predominance. General Grant, in his last message, advocated an educational test of suffrage for both North and South, and the subject underwent a brief discussion. We advocated it in an editorial in our Quarterly. It is interesting to note how the proposition was treated by our Southern brethren. They professed surprise that such a proposal should come from the special patrons of the negro, and pleasantly intimated that the time seemed to be coming when themselves would be found the true advocates of the negroes' rights! Another fact is that soon after the close of our civil war the administration and Congress offered to the South an amendment of the Constitution leaving the question of enfranchisement to each State Government, but providing that the representation of each State in the National Government should be proportioned to the number of its voters. That was, we think, a fair arrangement. It left negro enfranchisement in the hands of the white South, but furnished motive for the enfranchisement of a qualified minority of colored men. It left civilization, as it should be, in the ascendant. It was right, for certainly it is the legal voters who are to be represented in the

representative body. But the Southern States refused that proposal. What was their reason? We will not assign the reason; but we will guess the reason which the Northern people are very likely to assign. They will say that the Southern leaders mean to maintain the legal rights of the negroes to vote, and then suppress the negro's attempt to exercise his right. They maintain the legal right in order to retain thirty-five votes in the national representation, and then they annul the negro vote, to concentrate the whole in their own hands. The old oligarchy is then restored, not over chattel slaves, but over disfranchised serfs. And this renders their State elections a national concern. They cannot say that "the North has no business with the matter." Congressmen and Presidents are by them to be elected on that basis to rule over us of the North. It was by that process, most of our North believes, that Mr. Tilden secured a fraudulent majority of the actual votes in 1876, when he was not the choice of a majority of the actual legal voters. We would if we could urge upon our Southern contemporaries the danger of any such attempt to found their sectional supremacy on a permanent violation of the Constitution. That danger is increased by the fact that the census of 1880 is likely to give the North an electoral vote twice as large as that of the South. The Southern leaders cannot safely base a power on suppressing by wholesale a million of legal votes, whose legal rights they claim shall be retained. We believe the true remedies are: 1. An educational test of suffrage, supplemented by an educational system. 2. An energetic system of immigration southward of a white industrial population, with a much larger attention to industrial interests, and diminished zeal in politics. 3. An earnest endeavor to maintain the spirit of conciliation and union, and a dismissal on both sides of aiming at sectional supremacy. The solid South and solid North should become fluid, with an easy and genial interchanging current southward and northward.

Since the above views were put in type we have noted a remark made by Mr. Lamar in the Senate, in reply to an eminent Northern Senator, which points out the true and saving policy: "Sir, had the Senator come forward with some well-devised scheme of public education to fit this newly enfranchised race, every one would have recognized the propriety

and the patriotism of such a movement, for he would have given to the people what they most need, which would protect them from every evil which he now alleges that they labor under."

We are profoundly convinced that the placing an ignorant negro majority in supremacy over any of these American States is a policy which must be a failure, moral and political. The negro should not govern the South, nor the Irish papist the North.

PRINCETON REVIEW, November, 1878. (New York.)—1. National Morality. 2. The Rights and Duties of Science. 3. Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum. 4. The European Equilibrium. 5. Copyrights and Patents. 6. Man's Place in Nature. 7. Duties of Higher toward Lower Races. 8. Eclipses of the Sun. 9. The Recent Solar Eclipse. 10. A Criticism of the Critical Philosophy, in Reply to Professor Mahaffy. 11. Physiological Metaphysics.

In Dr. Rawlinson's interesting article (Article Seventh) we find an argument from Scripture in favor of the unity of the human race. It is able and candid, but fails, perhaps, to be conclusive as it might from his not apprehending fairly the position of those who believe the plural origins of the race to be consistent with Scripture. They hold that Eden was one creative center, and that the terms of universality simply cover that center. Dr. Rawlinson's argument would, perhaps, prove the absolute universality of the deluge.

Dr. Rawlinson very fully demonstrates that "progress" of races is often downward; but we might, perhaps, nevertheless, maintain that the progress of the race, as a whole, is upward. The grades of intellect are indicated physiologically thus: "According to the most recent measurement, the average capacity of the ordinary European skull is 1,500; of the Japanese, 1,486; of the ancient Egyptians, 1,464; of the Polynesians, 1,454; of the Chinese, 1,424; of the negro races, 1,377; of the Hindus, 1,306; of the native Australians, 1,283; and of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, 1,220."—P. 820. It will be seen that, low as this ranks the negro, the Hindu stands lower. And yet the Hindu is of our own race, a brother Aryan! What does this indicate but the great improvability of races?

Dr. Rawlinson endeavors to show that a mixture of races improves the breed, and at great length advises us American Caucasians to amalgamate, by marriage, with the negroes. We

may sneer at this, he thinks, or suspect that he means us mischief, but he means it for our good. We think his proposal would be received with neither sneer nor suspicion, but with a very decided excess of good humor. North and South would be "solid" with a genial risibility. By what process he would establish his amalgamation on such a scale as to affect the national character he does not say. So far as mulattoism has hitherto existed it seems not to have produced any elevation of the Caucasian level. Nor is the amalgamation of races in South America an encouraging example. No intermarrying on a theory, or by system, can take place; and left, as it must be, to individual inclination, each race prefers its own. The greater the freedom and equality of the two races the more permanent the distinction. We believe that Christian good sense and kindness are the true alleviators of the ills of race distinction.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. The Christian Idea of God. 2. On Missions to Islam. 3. Why did the Reformers reject Episcopacy? 4. George Combe. 5. The Late Dr. Hodge. 6. The Christian Doctrine of Creation. 7. The Zendavesta. 8. An Eccentric Apologist. 9. Translated Article: Luther's Treatise, De Servo Arbitrio.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. The Universities and the Renaissance. 2. Lessing as Philosopher and Theologian. 3. Joubert. 4. Butter and Cream. 5. Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Austria. 6. Tent Work in Palestine. 7. Mr. Hughes on the Establishment. 8. The Three Treaties.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1878.—1. The Copyright Commission. 2. Low's History of the Indian Navy. 3. Gardiner's Government of Charles I. 4. Recent Explorations in Palestine. 5. Who wrote the Annals of Tacitus? 6. The Jesuit Martyrs: Campion and Walpole. 7. Sir Henry Taylor's Collected Works. 8. The Correspondence of M. de Balzac. 9. England in the Levant.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1878. (Bombay.)—1. Jesus the Saviour and Jesus the Spirit-giver. 2. Indian Village Sunday-schools. 3. The Second Ten Years of Dr. Duff's Indian Career. 4. Street-preaching. 5. Missionary Education.

October.—1. The Roman Catholics in South India. 2. Self-support among the Bassein Karen Christians. 3. Oudh. 4. Life in Christ. 5. The Last Seven Years of Dr. Duff's Indian Career.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. The Brothers Chambers. 2. Zululand and the Zulus. 3. The Book of Job. 4. History of the English Church. 5. Dr. Arnold's Sermons. 6. China and the Chinese. 7. Dr. Graetz on Jesus Christ and Christianity.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878.—1. John Dryden. 2. Rise of the Modern British Empire. 3. Elephant-catching. 4. Petrarch. 5. Ancient Cyprus. 6. M. Thiers: His Life and Character. 7. The Lancashire Cotton-strike. 8. Is the Church of England Protestant? 9. The Revival of Turkey.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1878.—1. The Australian Colonies. 2. Later Novels of Berthold Auerbach. 3. Bulgarian Literature. 4. The Troubadours. 5. Lord Melbourne. 6. The Situation in the East and the Future of Russia.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. London: Strahan & Co. November, 1878.

A writer in "The Contemporary Review," in an article entitled, "What is Going On at the Vatican—A Voice from Rome," gives some graphic, and, perhaps, accurate pictures of the old and new. We give a few specimens:—

DEATH OF A KING AND OF A POPE.

In entering on this task prominence must first be given to a fact which has exercised great influence on the events to be afterward recorded. That fact was the death, at the commencement of the present year, of King Victor Emmanuel. The decease of the monarch occasioned such universal mourning, and provoked such demonstrations of affection and loyalty, on the part of the entire Italian population, that the Vatican itself was startled by the spectacle. The event had not only given fresh vigor to the faith in nationality; it had also, to a certain extent, revealed the deeper traditions and instincts of the national religion. The great Liberal party, imposing silence on the materialists and freethinkers, hung all the churches with tricolor flags, and the foremost actors in the great national revolution thronged all the cathedrals, and there paid the tribute of religious rites to the departed sovereign, already invested with an almost legendary halo. The impression created by the monarch's death had sunk deep into the minds of the people, when the death of Pius IX., so long expected, and more than once even prematurely announced, at last took place. The contrast between the national mourning exhibited for King Victor Emmanuel and the general indifference shown on the decease of Pius IX. was too clear and unmistakable not to suggest very awkward conclusions. It is scarcely an exaggeration to affirm that the contrast thus presented served as a crucial test to the great body of Italian Catholics. From that day illusions were more rapidly dispelled, and, just as if a mist had cleared away, the political relations between the Vatican and the Italian State stood forth in their real and sharp outlines.

Whatever views might have been previously entertained by the foreign members of the Sacred College, it is quite certain that on entering the Vatican they found a strong current of opinion for which they were totally unprepared. Cardinal Manning may, among his own English partisans and admirers, affirm and reaffirm that he never urged upon his brethren of the Sacred College the expediency of holding the Conclave beyond the bounds of Italy. Such declarations will not cancel the fact that the representations made by him to his brother Cardinals during the Conclave could only at the time lead to the inference that, in the attempt to transfer the sittings of the Conclave to Malta, or some other place

not subject to the Italian Crown, he was putting forth a zeal not inferior to that displayed by him in the cause of Papal Infallibility. No sooner, however, had the majority of the Cardinals reached Rome than it became evident that on one most important point their decision might clearly be foreseen. They were quite resolved not to elect a foreigner to the Papal throne, and equally determined not to elect an Ultramontane backed notoriously by foreign influence. Of the previous existence of this moderate and Italian party in the Sacred College no doubt had been entertained. But the precise strength of its convictions, the character of its organization, the nature of its leadership, if it possessed a regular and recognized leader, were all points which were involved in great obscurity. Through the mist, however, it was not difficult to discern how strongly and in what direction the current ran, and from what quarter the wind blew. A thousand little facts, each in itself insignificant, but collectively all-important, served to make known the true state of matters. From many a mouth proceeded the remark that the demonstrations of affection and reverence offered, not only by the Italian people, but by all civilized States, to the memory of King Victor Emmanuel, ought to have the effect of at last opening men's eyes. In other quarters it was observed that the principles of free government and national unity had evidently struck such deep root that it was quite idle to continue any longer dreaming about a restoration of the Pope's temporal power. Italy, it was affirmed, had recorded a second and more impressive plebiscite in favor of the House of Savoy. And then profound regret was expressed at the fact that so important a figure in the annals of the Papacy as that of Pius IX. should have passed away without exciting in the minds of the deceased Pontiff's fellow-countrymen similar feelings of affection and grief. When the causes of this contrast were brought to light and freely canvassed, there were found not a few highly honored and influential prelates who deplored the eccentricities and follies of Pius IX., as having been the occasion of so much mischief. The general indifference manifested on Pius IX.'s death found, it was said, its simple and natural explanation in those eccentricities, which had alienated from the Holy See the great mass of the Italian people. At the very moment when the crowd, drawn by curiosity, was thronging St. Peter's for the purpose of beholding the Pontiff's corpse, many a sharp censure was to be heard in the halls of the Vatican, where from this or from the other high ecclesiastic the words proceeded, "There must be a change of system, otherwise who can tell how it will all end!" In many well-known clerical houses a frank tribute of admiration was paid to the conduct of the Government and to the bearing of the troops, as shown in the admirable order maintained at such a critical moment throughout the whole city. Not that there were wanting furious fanatics who at once took the alarm on hearing such language as the above, and determined to band themselves more closely together to prevent the great danger of a moderate Pope.

THE NEW POPE.

In the very first meetings of the Conclave, I repeat, it was quite evident that the Ultramontane Cardinals had no chance of success. Cardinal Joachin Pecci, one of the most learned members of the Sacred College, who was an object of profound aversion to Cardinal Antonelli, and was systematically kept for many years at a distance from Rome, had shortly before been appointed Cardinal Camarlengo. It is just possible that Pius IX., in conferring on him that office, took it for granted that, in accordance with the usual custom of the Sacred College, the Cardinal Camarlengo would be virtually excluded from the list of candidates for the tiara. But the first consequence of the nomination was that Cardinal Pecci, during his brief tenure of office as Camarlengo, had the opportunity of bringing into prominence his character and opinions. There was formed at once without as well as within the walls of the Vatican a current of opinion favorable to Cardinal Pecci, who was pronounced to be averse to flattery, and to the feminine gossip and jealousies by which Pius IX. was unhappily too much characterized. Cardinal Pecci was considered hostile to the Jesuits, and it was reported to be his intention to make a clean sweep of the manifold abuses and corruptions of the Vatican. Future historical critics will doubtless display much acumen in bringing to light the alleged tangled web of native intrigues or foreign influence resulting in the election of Joachin Pecci to the Papal chair. I unhesitatingly affirm, on the contrary, that his election was brought about by the force of public opinion, which it is not too much to say had never previously in the annals of the Papacy been exerted so freely and so fully, not in Rome alone, but throughout the whole of Italy. Not an hour passed in which there were not transmitted by telegraph to all parts of the world the most minute details respecting this great event in the history of the Church, so far as they could possibly be known; and on all these details the press lavished its comments. It was utterly impossible for the Cardinals themselves to keep aloof from, or remain indifferent to, these manifestations of public opinion. The current in favor of moderate courses was strong and undeniable. As it flowed into the Sacred College it found itself encountered and arrested by several groups of schemers, bent on objects which it would be difficult to regard as compatible either with the welfare of civilized States or the good of the Catholic Church. There was wanting, however, for this current of opinions favorable to a moderate policy a clear and definite expression. On the first division a considerable number of votes were given in favor of Cardinal Pecci. Then all doubts and hesitations vanished. Even Cardinal Franchi, who wielded so much influence in the Sacred College, bowed down before the clear expression of public opinion. What followed with such rapidity must be ascribed to the good sense and tact of the Cardinals, who perceived that a prolonged opposition would only result either in the defeat of Cardinal Pecci's reactionary opponents, or in

the humiliating and perilous spectacle of an open division among the rulers of the Catholic Church. The triumph of Cardinal Pecci was hailed every-where throughout Italy as a national triumph, and this for the special reason that his election had been imposed on his brother Cardinals by Italian public opinion. For Cardinal Manning, who, if he had not actually put forward direct pretensions to the vacant chair of St. Peter, certainly did nothing to discourage the efforts made by his devoted partisans and admirers to represent him as the member of the Sacred College best fitted to fill so high an office—for a Cardinal of this stamp it must have been no slight humiliation to find himself compelled to bow down with all apparent reverence before a Pope the known enemy of those very Jesuits whom His Eminence of Westminster holds in such honor. It is to be hoped that the severe lesson thus received will have the effect of opening, however late, Cardinal Manning's eyes to the existence of a fact which he has hitherto seemed resolved most obstinately to ignore. The fact is this, that the Roman Curia is essentially Italian.—Pp. 665–668.

If the following statements are true, as we trust from their very tone that they are not, we believe they are not justly applicable to our own mission:—

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

The statement has frequently been made that the Vatican feels great alarm at the multiplication of the various religious sects now going on in Rome, and more especially at the increase of Protestant Churches. Pope Leo XIII. has very recently renewed, in the letter addressed by him to Cardinal Nina, the protests, the complaints, and the warnings on the same subject so often heard from the lips of Pius IX. By both Popes this state of matters has been denounced as an outrage on the Church. That the Vatican really feels the degree of alarm which it exhibits may perhaps be doubted. Any one possessing a thorough acquaintance with the character of Italy and of the Italians will very soon be led to form the opinion that, of the vast sums expended by philanthropic and religious Englishmen to bring over the natives of foreign countries to sounder views of religious truth, scarcely any are so irrationally and recklessly misspent as those lavished in Italy. If the word Protestant could be accepted as the synonym of anti-Papal, the people of Italy are at the present moment the most Protestant nation in the world. This, however, is a subject the proper treatment of which would require, not the limits of an article, but of a volume. But, while making the assertion, it must at once be added that the revival of a deep and true religious faith in Italy is not likely to be produced by the spectacle of rival sects, each claiming to be the sole legitimate representative of Protestantism, and bickering and wrangling among themselves with far greater pertinacity and energy than they ever manifest against those whom it must be presumed they regard as the common foe.—Pp. 679, 680.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Edited by Dr. RIEHM and Dr. KOSTLIN.) First Number. 1879. *Essays*: 1. ZELLER, The Religious Views of Staupitz and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrines. 2. TRÜMPELMANN, Socialism and Local Reform, (Second Article.) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. TOLLIN, A Contribution to the Theology of Servetus. 2. SPEER, On Eph. ii, 19–22.

The second article on Socialism and Social Reform by Trümplemann (see Methodist Quarterly Review, October, 1878) is devoted to the views of the Socialists concerning *private* property, and its transformation into *society* property, (*Gesellschafts-eigenthum.*) The socialistic theories are examined, first, from an economical, and, secondly, from a religious point of view. The author insists that the question of private property is not only an economical, but a religious question. "The most animated controversies," the author says, "are now carried on concerning this question, and communistic and socialistic theories have made some progress in circles from which formerly they had been entirely excluded. From the spirit of Christianity a new theory of property is to be evolved, and the ancient Roman pagan right of property is to be overcome. The laurels which Pastor Todt (one of the champions of the Christian socialistic party in Germany, see Methodist Quarterly Review, 1878, p. 731) has won are eagerly sought after by others. Dr. Wangeman (the head of one of the foreign missionary seminaries in Germany, and a distinguished writer on foreign missions) infers from the prophecy of the dying Jacob that the dangers connected with trade and industry did not escape the prophetic eye of the dying patriarch. Dr. H. Stoll supports his demand for a 'Christian property law' by 1 Cor. i, 30: 'Christ Jesus is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness,' applying the word 'righteousness' to a revision of property relations. Pastor Todt connects the word 'Germanic' with his 'Christian property law,' and then eulogizes a 'Germanic Christian property law' in opposition to the Roman pagan, but fails to see that with his 'Germanic' he stumbles back into paganism. The old Germanic law is not a whit more Christian than the Roman. It has its noble, humane features, but so has the Roman. If the Roman law is, or can be made, subservient to the egotism of the individual, the old Germanic serves the egotism of the corporation, an egotism which has

shown itself in history much tougher and more lasting than the egotism of the individual." The author quotes the views of Rothe, Hundeshagen, and other distinguished German writers, as to the baneful effects which the abolition of private property must have upon the moral character of man. As regards the relation between the social right of private property and the Christian faith, the author argues at length that Christianity at its foundation found the right of private property in legal existence; that the New Testament nowhere objects to or condemns this institution; but, on the contrary, refers to the rich and the poor in such a manner as to make us believe that this division of society is presupposed in the New Testament as something permanent. In conclusion, the author speaks of the relation of Socialism to the institution of marriage. The majority of the Socialists of the present day deny the charge of being free-lovers. Nevertheless, the author insists that the socialistic principles tend toward weakening the bond of marriage. He refers to the fact that one party of Socialists, who recognize the late Russian agitator, Bakunin, as their leader, expressly demanded the abolition of marriage, that many leading Socialists have joined in its demand, and that even the more moderate Socialists quite generally favor a greater facility of divorce.

John Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Augustinian order of Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and best known as the teacher and friend of Luther, has of late been made the subject of special study by several German theologians. (See Methodist Quarterly Review, 1878, p. 729.) The above article by Zeller chiefly discusses the religious view of Staupitz, giving a complete list of his works and a full statement of their contents. In a brief sketch of his life, which precedes the main part of the essay, extracts are given from the last letter of Staupitz to Luther, dated April 1, 1524, only a few months before his death. This letter, which was not known to any of the biographers of Staupitz and Luther, and which was for the first time published in the *Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation*, by Carl and Wilhelm Kraft, clearly proves that, although Staupitz externally submitted to Rome, and remained until his death abbot of a monastery, he never ceased to be an admirer of Luther's doctrine,

and to entertain the most friendly sentiments toward him. "We are greatly indebted to you, Martin," he writes, "as you have brought us back to the pastures of life, to the words of salvation." He calls himself Luther's *frater et discipulus*, recommends the carrier of the letter to Luther, and asks that he may be received among Luther's pupils. It is not known whether Luther ever answered this letter. Luther was vexed that the timid old man refused to come out openly and boldly for the cause of the Reformation, and in the last letter to Staupitz which is extant had indicated an intention to waste no more words, ("*Nolim plura verba perdere.*")

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Edited by Hilgenfeld.) Fourth Number, 1878. 1. TOLLIN, Correction of Some Mistakes in Regard to Servet. 2. HILGENFELD, On Immer's Theology of the New Testament. 3. GÖRRES, Christianity and the Roman State at the Time of the Emperor Vespasian. 4. RÖNSCH, Remarks on the Itala. 5. OTTO, On the Age of Archbishop Arethas.

First Number, 1879. 1. HILGENFELD, Papias on Mark and Matthew. 2. THOMA, The Old Testament in the Gospel of John. 3. GÖRRES, Critical Remarks on the Confessor Achatius. 4. HILGENFELD, Th. Keim and the Council of Apostles. 5. KÖHLER, Controversy of Rabanus with Paschasius Radbertus on the Lord's Supper.

Henri Tollin, *lic. theol.* and pastor at Magdeburg, has for years made the life and works of the antitrinitarian Servetus the subject of special studies. He is not only the author of the most comprehensive work that has ever been written on the subject, but has for years discussed particular points of his subject in numerous articles in German periodicals. While the value of Tollin's researches is generally recognized, some of his statements have met with objections on the part of men like Nippold, Benrath, Rauwenhoff, Sepp, and many others. Tollin announces his intention of answering all these objections in course of time, and begins in the above article to refer to three points, the name, the birthplace, and the birth-year of Servetus. With regard to the name, he argues that the original Spanish name was Servet, not Servede, Serveto, or Reves, which several names have recently found defenders in Goschen, (*Deutsche Klinik*, 1875,) Gordon, (Theological Review, April, 1878,) and Ceradini, (*Difesa della mia memoria contro l'assalto dei Signori H. Tollin, e W. Preyer*, 1876.) Tollin thinks that Reves was the name of the mother, and that Servet, according to the fashion of Spanish noble families, sometimes called himself Servet-y-Reves. With regard to his birthplace, Servetus

calls himself a native, sometimes of Tudela, sometimes of Villanova. Tollin shows that these statements do not involve a contradiction, since Spaniards frequently called themselves natives of their father's, or even their grandfather's, birthplace, and he reaches the conclusion that Servet's family came from a village Villanova, in the diocese of Lerida, in Aragon, while he himself was a native of Tudela, in Navarre. The name of the village in which the ancestors of Servet resided must have been Villanova, not, as is found in most works, Villanueva, because in the diocese of Lerida there was at that time no Villanueva, but three Villanovas. In which of these three was the residence of the Servet family can at present not be ascertained. There were at that time in Spain thirty-nine Villanovas and two hundred and eleven Villanuevas. The opinions concerning the birth-year of Servetus vary still more widely than about his birthplace. Tollin regards the year 1511 as the most probable.

Dr. F. Görres, in his article on Christianity under the Emperor Vespasian, maintains that during the reign of this emperor there was no persecution of Christians: neither in general, as is assumed by Ruinart and Schlosser, nor of a few individual Christians, as is the opinion of Baronius, Tillemont, and other Church historians, who place the martyrdom of the Roman presbyter, Linus, the first bishop of Ravenna, Apollinaris, as well as of the Phœnician martyrs, Leontius, Hypatius, and Theodulus, in the reign of this emperor. Görres agrees with those historians who believe that during the first century of our era Christianity was regarded in the Roman empire, if not formally, at least actually, as a Jewish sect, that the Christians conjointly with the Jews enjoyed at first the right of a corporation recognized by the State, and that the illegality of Christianity dates from the well-known rescript of the Emperor Trajan to the younger Pliny, governor of Bithynia. This question of the views of the Roman Government concerning the legal relations existing between Jews and Christians, and the legality or illegality of Christianity, has recently been again discussed in a number of works. The view that Christians throughout the first century were looked upon in Rome as a Jewish sect, and that they consequently enjoyed the rights of a lawful society, (*collegium licitum*,) is especially disputed by the well-known exegetical writer Karl

Wieseler, in his recent work on the persecution of Christians by the Roman emperors until the third century. (*Die Christenverfolgungen der Cæsaren, Gütersloh*, 1878.) According to Wieseler, the Christians were distinctly distinguished by the Roman Government from the Jews as early as the time of Nero, they were not persecuted as a Jewish sect by Domitian, and their condition became more favorable, not unfavorable, by the rescript of Trajan.

Aretas, or Arethas, an archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and author of a noted commentary on the Revelation, is supposed by some (see M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopedia, art., Aretas) to have lived in the second half of the sixth century. Most of the recent German theologians (Lucke, De Wette, Bleek) place him toward the close of the fifth century; Papebroch, in the beginning of the eighth century. According to F. Görres (*Zeitschrift fur wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1878, p. 260) the age of Arethas cannot be definitely determined, but he must at all events have lived later than Andrew, bishop of Cæsarea, who, he thinks, cannot have lived earlier than the close of the fourth century. Dr. Otto, professor of the faculty of Protestant Theology, at Vienna, regards the question of the age of Aretas as fully settled by two Greek codices, the one in Paris, the other in Moscow, both of which were written at the request of Aretas, the one in the year of the world 6,422, the other in 1640. This proves conclusively, according to Dr. Otto, that Aretas was archbishop of Cæsarea in the years A. D. 914 and 932. Dr. Otto promises to speak more fully of Aretas in the forthcoming third edition of Vol. III of his *Corpus Apologetarum.*

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) September, 1878.—1. G. MAYER, The Evangelization of France. 2. J. CADÈNE, The Youth of E. Quinet, and the First Years of his Reputation. 3. P. DE WITT, On Charity in Paganism. 4. DE RICHEMOND, Jean Guiton.

October.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, The Royalty of Man. 2. G. ROHR, Addresses made to Theological Students by Professor Ed. Reuss. 3. GODET, Theological and Philosophical Miscellanies by Astié. 4. F. DUMAS, A Trial for Heresy.

November.—1. E. W., An English Essayist. 2. J. BIANQUIS, Victor Hugo's New Work, "Le Pape." 3. E. BAUMGARTNER, The Evangelization of the Workingmen. 4. G. MONOD, The Fine Arts at the Exposition Ouvrière, (1867–1878.)

The *Revue Chretienne,* like all the prominent Protestant journals of France, continues to pay a special attention to the hopes

which begin to be entertained in wide circles in regard to a further progress of French Protestantism. G. Mayer, a frequent contributor to the *Revue*, discusses in the article above mentioned the question, what the Protestant Churches might do for this purpose, and what difficulties they will have to surmount. In his opinion it is absolutely indispensable for the work of evangelization to unite all the live forces of French Protestantism against the common adversaries. The Evangelical Alliance is in France a necessity. None of the Protestant denominations would, by itself alone, feel itself strong enough to undertake the work of evangelizing France, and will any of them be so narrow-minded as to refuse the concurrence of the Protestant Christians of other denominations? An alliance of evangelical denominations for the common work of evangelization would by no means involve on the part of any of the denominations an abandonment of its distinctive principles and ideas. It would be at the present time all the easier to bring about an alliance, as the denominations themselves are casting off many points of divergence which have separated them in the past. In order to carry through the work of evangelization, the author of the article thinks that French Protestantism needs a powerful organization, which would unite all its strength, and give to it one concentrated direction. He proposes the creation of a central council of the Protestant Churches of France, or of a society of Protestant interests. It would be sufficient, he thinks, to come to an understanding with regard to the number of representatives which each Church should have in this new society. They would be designated by the proper authorities of the several Churches; they might associate with themselves lawyers and men of experience, and agents of the foreign religious societies might take part in the deliberations. This council might induce the Protestant Churches to act conjointly in many important questions, as with regard to French translations of the Bible; and it would be able more efficiently than any particular Protestant Church to defend, if necessary, the common interests of Protestantism against the State Government. He closes his article by giving expression to the sanguine hope that the creation of such a council might inaugurate a new era for the Protestant Church.

In the monthly summary of the September number the *Revue* calls attention to the approach of a desperate conflict between State and Church concerning the management of the public school. In France the ultramontane party is outspoken in demanding that the State recognize the exclusive right of the Church of Rome to the education of the entire youth of the country. In opposition to the Church, the French university represents the principle of State education. Many cabinets during the last thirty years have tried to conclude compromises with the Church, and, more or less, conceded her demands. The recognized ascendency of the Republican party involves resistance to the influence of the Roman Church upon State education, and the restoration of the supreme influence of the university, as the representative of the State in the domain of education. The feeling between the two parties is extremely bitter. One of the members of the present Republican cabinet, M. de Marcère, expressed in a recent public address the fear that from the two organized school systems which now exist in France, the Catholic schools on the one hand and the national schools on the other, two hostile nations would proceed, which would mutually hate themselves without knowing each other, and by their desparate war might endanger the unity of the country. The present minister of public instruction, M. Bardoux, is a Protestant and a jealous partisan of the university. He has recently published a general statistical report on the secondary schools of France, both the State and the free institutions of this class, during the time from 1865 to 1876. This is the third report of the kind published in France, the first having been published in 1843 by M. Villemain, and the second in 1865 by M. Durny. It appears from the ministerial report that secondary instruction has made considerable progress during this time. The number of State lyceums has risen from seventy-seven in 1865 to eighty-six, notwithstanding the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and the number of pupils has increased by thirteen thousand. But the Church institutions have increased more rapidly than those of the State. While the increase of pupils in the Church schools is about equal to that of the State lyceums, (twelve thousand,) the increase in the number of Church institutions is thirty-one against nine in the number of the State schools. In proportion

as university and Church schools increase, there is a steady decrease in the number of private schools. From 1854 to 1865 one hundred and sixty-eight institutions of this kind disappeared, from 1865 to 1876 one hundred and sixty-three, and at present no more than four hundred and ninety-four are left. If the increase of the Church and State institutions goes on as before, it may be expected that in twenty years hardly any private schools will remain in France, and that then the great battle between Catholic and university education will be fought. The *Revue* greatly regrets the disappearance of the private institutions, which, in its opinion, represent the principle of a direct and active concurrence of the family in education. It regrets this difference all the more because it cannot fully sympathize with either of the two extensive systems which remain, the Catholic education and the university education. The former represents a fanaticism with which no one but an ultramontane Catholic can be in sympathy; but the latter is too destitute of that religious and moral influence without which no education can be successful.

◆

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

OLD CATHOLICS.

The Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland held its fourth annual synod at Aargau on May 25. The work of the synod was this year finished up within a few hours, in one day. The most important decision of the synod referred to the reception of the communion in both kinds. On this subject the French-speaking and German-speaking congregations have been for two years divided. The French have contended that a eucharist in one kind is, if not invalid, at least imperfect. The Germans, whose chosen speaker this year was Pfarrer Geschwind, stoutly contend for the validity of the administration in one kind, and fear that the reform would raise doubtful questionings with a population very much mixed among Protestants. The synod agreed upon a compromise worded as follows: 1. Communion in both kinds is likewise Catholic and permissible; 2. The right of introducing the same is reserved to the cantonal and district synods, and to the congregational boards of the Church, particularly in those cantons in which no superior authority exists. With regard to holy days, the synod determined that only Christmas, New Year's, Ascension, and All Saints' days should be regarded as high festivals when they fall on week days, and that other holy days should be either discontinued or else transferred to the next Sunday;

but, on the other hand, that Good Friday should be "kept holy in a way corresponding to its high importance." The delegates to the synod numbered one hundred and twenty. From the statistical report, submitted by Bishop Herzog, it appears that there were 61 organized parishes, in which 75 clergymen labored. A net gain of 5 priests had been made during the year, notwithstanding 11 secessions. Nine students of the theological faculty at Berne had been ordained, and 11 students were still preparing for the ministry. The total number of adherents in all Switzerland was computed by the bishop at 80,000 to 95,000. In comparison with the statistics of the preceding year there was an increase of 624 in the number of children under religious instruction, (3,606,) of 133 in the number of young persons admitted to the holy communion, (1,018,) of 71 in the number of persons buried by the priests of the Church, (713;) there was, on the other hand, a decrease of 82 in the number of baptisms, (1,100,) and of 43 in the number of marriages, (233.) The number of parishes was not reported in 1877; in 1876 it was 55; so that from 1876 to 1878 the increase of organized parishes was 6. The majority of the congregations speak French; but the German congregations exhibit a larger aggregate membership and a more rapid progress. German Switzerland, as the bishop states, exceeds the 32 parishes of French Switzerland, from which reports were received, of 1,200 in the number of children under religious instruction, of 618 in the number of young persons admitted to holy communion, of 404 in the number of baptisms, of 166 in the number of marriages, and of 123 in the number of burials.

Shortly after the synod a parish was fully organized in St. Gall, the capital of the canton of the same name. Adding this new parish to those mentioned in Bishop Herzog's report, the Christian Catholic Church was, about the middle of 1878, fully constituted in eight of the twenty-two cantons of Switzerland. The following statistical table—which exhibits the total and the Roman Catholic population of these cantons, the number of Roman Catholic parishes in 1865, and of Christian Catholic parishes in 1878—will give a clear statistical view of the present condition of the Christian Catholic Church:—

Cantons.	Population in 1870.		Cath. Parishes. 1865.	Christian Cath. Par. 1878.
	Total.	Catholic.		
Aargan	198,874	89,180	73	10
Basel, city	47,760	12,303	11	1
" country	54,135	10,249		1
Bern	506,561	66,207	70	30
Geneva	94,116	48,340	23	12
Neuchatel	97,286	11,329	7	1
St. Gall	191,096	116,130	104	1
Solothurn	74,718	62,078	69	5
Zurich	284,867	17,944	3	1
Total	1,549,413	440,762	360	62

The Catholic population of these eight cantons constitutes more than two fifths of the entire Catholic population of Switzerland. The governments of all these cantons protect and favor the Christian Catholic Church. In all of them, especially in the German cantons of Aargau,

St. Gall, and Solothurn, a number of further accessions are expected. Among the fourteen cantons which have as yet no Christian Catholic congregation there are five and a half in which the Protestant Churches predominate, and in which the cantonal governments may be supposed to sympathize more or less with the reformatory movement. These cantons are Appenzell, (Outer Rhodes,) Glarus, Graubünden, Schaffhausen, Thurgau, Vaud. They had, according to the census of 1870, a total population of 538,213, and a Catholic population of 82,249, and, in 1865, 162 Catholic parishes. As there are no obstacles in any of these cantons to the establishment of Christian Catholic congregations, adding the Catholic population of these cantons to that of the first group, we find that more than one half of the Catholic population of Switzerland lives under cantonal governments which may be expected to protect and favor the reformatory Church. In the other eight and a half cantons, which have as yet no Christian Catholic congregation, the immense majority of the population belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, the cantonal authorities are wholly under ultramontane influence, and, although the constitution of Switzerland guarantees the freedom of religion to every Swiss citizen, it would not be safe for the friends of the reformatory movement to attempt an organization. It is, however, a noteworthy fact that in the largest Catholic city of Switzerland, Luzerne, a considerable majority of the inhabitants favor the reform movement, and the organization of a congregation has only been postponed by the hope of the Christian Catholics to take with them, at the final separation, a fair proportion of the Church property.

The Old Catholic Church of Germany passed, in 1878, through a severe crisis, and was at the end of the year in any thing but a flourishing condition. At its fifth synod, which was held, as in former years, at Bonn, the vexed question of priestly celibacy was decided by the adoption of a resolution in favor of its abolition. The synodal council, in compliance with the request of the previous synod, had prepared a report on the legal aspects of the question. Its conclusion was, that in Prussia, Hesse, and Baden no legal hinderances stood in the way of a priest's marriage, and that the Governments of these States would regard it as a purely inner Church question. In Bavaria, on the other hand, where the jurisdiction of the Old Catholic bishop had not yet been acknowledged, it was expected that the abolition of priestly celibacy would induce the Government to treat the Old Catholics henceforth as a non Catholic sect. The synodal council, therefore, advised the synod to postpone, by a formal vote, the decision on the question until 1883. The majority of the synod was, however, in favor of a decisive resolution, and, after various compromises had been offered, a resolution was adopted by seventy-five against twenty-two votes, which declared: 1. That the law of compulsory celibacy is only a question of discipline, not of doctrine. 2. That it is not in harmony with the spirit of the Gospel and with the spirit of the Catholic Church. 3. That thereby scandalous and immoral offenses are induced. 4. That a voluntary celibacy is by no means

to be condemned; but, 5. That the canonical prohibition of clerical marriage, from subdeacon upward, shall be no longer binding on the Old Catholic Church. Nineteen priests and fifty-six lay deputies voted for the abolition, and the bishop and five priests, with sixteen laymen, against it. Among the majority are found the names of the vicar-general, Dr. Knoodt, Professors Von Schulte, Weber, Michelis, and Lutterbeck. The synodal council voted exactly level, two clerics and two laymen for and against. The archbishop of Utrecht sent, in the name of the Old Catholic Church of Holland, a letter warning the German Church against the abolition. The statistical report showed a total of Old Catholics in Germany of 51,864 souls—a slight falling off since last year. But the number of enrolled members had increased by about 250, a sign that the cause has made greater progress among young unmarried men. The largest falling off is in Bavaria. Baden lags behind, and only Prussia shows an increase. In consequence of the synod's decision against compulsory celibacy Professors Reusch and Friederich at once withdrew from the synod. Subsequently Professors Langen and Menzel also severed their connection with the synodal council. At a convention of the Old Catholics of Bavaria a resolution was passed to consider the decision of the synod as not binding for the Old Catholics of Bavaria.

In Austria the Old Catholics were acknowledged on October 17, 1877, as an independent religious body, under the designation of "Old Catholic Church." Old Catholic congregations are, however, not regarded according to the new Austrian law as fully organized until they have a pastor against whom the State Government raises no objection. Thus the congregation of Vienna was not fully organized until September 29, 1878, when a pastor whose election had been approved by the Government was solemnly inducted into his office. The sympathies with the Old Catholic cause appear still to be widely extended, and great hopes are now again entertained with regard to its further progress.

The interests of the Old Catholic Church of Italy are actively supported before the public by the bishop elect, Prota-Giurleo, and its literary organ, the *Emancipatore Cattolico* of Naples. In its last number for 1877, the *Emancipatore* gave a review of the National Church during the year, and explained the delay in the consecration of the bishop by the complications attending the Eastern war. "But we are satisfied," it said, "with the significant increase in the number of our adherents, especially among the high dignitaries of the Church and the laity of the southern provinces, especially in Calabria, Apulia, Basilicata, and Salerno." It also stated that the relations with the representatives of the Old Catholic movement in Germany, Switzerland, and France had become very cordial and intimate, and that proofs of fraternal sympathy had been received from the Church in the United States. Since then, the *Emancipatore* has declared that it was authorized to announce that the consecration of the bishop-elect, and the complete organization of the Church, were near at hand.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

OF the revised and enlarged edition of Herzog's Theological Cyclopedia, three volumes, extending to the close of the letter D, are completed, (*Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* New York: Westermann & Co.) The great hope which the theologians of the entire Protestant world have expressed with regard to this work are realized. The new edition of the Cyclopedia is more than a revised edition of the original work; it is an entirely new work, giving on every subject treated an abundance of information which can hardly be found to the same extent in any other work. It is indispensable to any one who wishes to acquaint himself with the results of theological science in Germany, and the library of no theological institution should, therefore, be without it. We have noticed a few inaccuracies and omissions. Thus, in the article *Australia*, the statement on the Episcopal dioceses omits the dioceses of New Castle and Bathurst, and that on the Roman Catholic Church, the archbishopric of Melbourne, which was erected in 1874, and the bishoprics of Ballarat, Sandhurst, Hobarton, Bathurst, Maitland, Goulburn, Armidale, and Brisbane. (See Methodist Quarterly Review, 1877, p. 732.) The articles on the States of South America, all of which are very meager, should mention among the works of reference, Neher, Kirchliche Statistik, Vol. III, which contains much more information on these States than any of the works that are mentioned. Of course, a few imperfections of this kind in no way diminish the superior merit of the work.

Another of the best German Cyclopedias, the comprehensive Cyclopedia of Education, by K. Schmid, (*Encyclopädie des Erziehung, und Unterrichtswesens,*) has just been completed by the appearance of Volume XI. The first volume was published in 1859. The first and second volumes of the work have recently appeared in a new edition, and the third and fourth volumes soon will. Though not chiefly theological, this work treats on many subjects of importance for theologians, and it is throughout written from an evangelical point of view.

A valuable work on the history of Protestantism in Roman Catholic countries has been begun by Pressel, under the title: *Bausteine zur Geschichte des Gustav Adolf Vereins*, (*Freienwalde*, 1877, and 1878.) The first volume (*Das Evangelium in Spanien*) traces the history of Protestantism in Spain; the second, by L. Witte, treats of Italy.

Among the editions of the Apostolic Fathers, that by Dr. Hefele, now bishop of Rottenburg, is highly valued. A fifth revised edition has recently been published by Professor Funk, of the University of Tübingen. (*Opera Patrum Apostolicorum*, Tübingen, 1878.)

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Course of Nature. An Address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at St. Louis, August 22, 1878. By Professor SIMON NEWCOMB, President. [Published in the Popular Science Monthly, Supplement for October, 1878.]

It is a fact worth noticing by our scientific brethren that the wide public interest in the proceedings of their associations arises not so much from their purely scientific discussions as from their attempts at performance in philosophy or theology. Upon the facts of merely physical value, however conducive their development may be to human convenience, they could expatiate "from July to eternity" without startling the world with excitement; but when some manifesto is issued crossing the higher interests of man's nature and destiny, or the dealings of God with man, or of biblical authority, their audience room is crowded, the reporters are all on the alert, and the newspapers ring the echoes to the four quarters of the civilized earth. It is thus that the scientistic haranguer is indebted to the religion he attacks for the reckless notoriety he attains. That notoriety is a premium upon scientistic (not scientific) irreligion. Hence at almost every meeting some ambitious performer mounts the scientific pedestal, and assumes to pronounce with scientific authority on any dogma of philosophy, biblicism, or theology he honors with his selection. The world is expected to assent, for is it not SCIENCE that speaks? The latest grandiloquence of this kind is this present address by Professor Newcomb.

Professor Newcomb's grounds are very peremptory and very exclusive. They amount to this: *The entire course of nature is a series of mechanical sequences, from which all interference from any outside causation is entirely excluded.* Knowing the premises and the laws of the series, "we can predict with unerring certainty what the result will be." "If we include the whole of nature in our field, no outside facts can come in; and her course, therefore, admits of being predicted with entire certainty from beginning to end."

Again, "*the mechanical theory of natural operations*, or, as it is sometimes called, the doctrine of the uniformity of nature, is generally acquiesced in by the mature thought of intelligent Christendom." "It" [the school of science] "tells us that the whole course of nature takes place in accordance with certain laws

capable of expression in mathematical language;" and he proceeds to deny any interference whatever with the invariable sequences under those laws. This he calls, very truly, "the mechanical theory of the course of nature."

Again, "At each moment of time the state of the universe is the effect of the state which immediately preceded it, and is the cause of the one which immediately follows."

The special point here, let it be specially noted, is not so much what he *includes* as what he *excludes*. These mechanical sequences are universal and eternal, and no special interposition from without ever has, or ever will, interrupt or vary them. He admits that back of the great machine there may have been a primordial cause of the whole; and at that back there is a belt where theism may come in. • God can be admitted at the back door. But God must stay back. After the machine has started he must hands off. So that the professor is no atheist. And yet Darwinism, as he assures us, does affirm that the eye, and, of course, every thing else, comes into existence without any design; and when Darwinism is proved it will destroy all admission of intentionality in "the course of nature." And he assures us that if the maintenance of unintended obedience to law, obedience excluding all "scrutable" design, purpose, or object, be Atheism, then science is rapidly tending to Atheism. So that the professor, and all science with him, vibrates on the brink of Atheism. For, whatever he may please to call it, all theology will pronounce the denial of intentionality to be blank Atheism. A God without design is a dead-head, and no God at all.

Now, we admit "the theory of the mechanical course of nature" positively, but we do not admit the exclusion, negatively, of all interposition with that course from an external personality. The professor tells us that he has carefully studied several volumes of eminent theologians to ascertain, but has never been able to ascertain, whether they believed in said mechanical course of nature or not. Of course, after the failure of several standard volumes to satisfy the professor, it would be immodest for us to imagine that we can satisfy him; but we trust we can satisfy our readers not only as to *what* we believe, but as to the firmness of the ground on which our belief is founded.

We say, then, that when he affirms the *intrinsic* invariability of the course of nature, he is right. But when he affirms that no personal will, whether divine, or angelic, or diabolic, or human, or animal, has ever interfered with the course of nature under her

laws, he commits a stupendous mistake. If a ball be flying in a straight line through the air, and a deft player hits it a rap and deflects its career to a slant, he has changed, not a law of nature, but the course of nature's sequences under her laws. He has effected a result which all nature's mechanical powers could not have accomplished. So intrinsically immutable do we hold those laws to be that we believe that from eternity to eternity the course of nature could not have undergone such change without the introduction of a force from without. If a higher being, a holy Gabriel, or a bad Samael, did the same thing as our ball-player, it would be called a miracle—a miracle not from any difference in the nature of the event, but in the rank of the agent. If the professor extends his hand and rescues a drowning fly, he has interfered with nature's course just as much as Jesus did when he rescued the sinking Peter. To the fly both are alike miracles.

This view discards the old theological definition which says that " a miracle is a suspension of the laws of nature." It was, we believe, the eminent metaphysician, Dr. Thomas Brown, who first suggested that a miracle is simply the interposition of a new antecedent into the train of nature's sequences, thereby not suspending the law, but varying the consequents under the law. Dr. Mansell then made clear that this variation is called a miracle only when and because the interposed antecedent is furnished by a superhuman being. But the course of nature may be as truly deflected by an animalcule as by an archangel. And truly this brings into view a stupendous amount of deflection of "the mechanical course of nature." George P. Marsh has written a book, which we have not read, showing the vast effects which human beings have produced on the surface of the earth. What an infinite number of the interposed variations of the interiorly invariable! And then think of the immeasurable amount of deflections achieved by the total amount of animal movements since the azoic period! It is, too, a most sublime thought that will is thus the sole, the great, antithesis to nature. And it is a most sublime contradiction, too, of the professor's doctrine that there is no deflection of nature's course from without, and that the universe of the present moment is the exact physical sequence of that of the previous moment.

As science, then, is limited to the affirmation of simply an *intrinsic* invariability of physical sequences, so the question whether a deflection from an extrinsic source does occur is not a scientific, but a historical question. Napoleon's career was a perpetual de-

flection of nature's physical invariability; but we know that fact not from science, but history. And so whether Jesus performed a train of supernatural interpositions is a question of history. The decision depends upon historical testimony, in which history may be aided by scientific criticism, but still makes her own decision. When Professor Newcomb denies that such facts have occurred, he is without the bounds of science, and is affecting to decide a historical question, where historians are as authoritative as himself. We affirm, on the authority of history, that nature's courses are perpetually deflected by human and animal will. And just as firmly we affirm, on the same authority, that nature's courses are deflected by superhuman will. It is a question which we do not propound to science.

The Professor gives us some graceful but irrelevant pages picturing the uniform flow of nature's processes. Mr. Tyndall, in his "Fragments of Science," also in his own fluid and richly colored diction, followed the same course, and some of our readers may recollect our criticism on its unwisdom. Who doubts the uniformity of nature's laws? Certainly not the theologian; for the theologian's very notion of a miracle, as an extraordinary event, presupposes the ordinary as its necessary antithesis. If all were miracle there would be no miracle; just as when the whole page is printed in italics all italic emphasis is lost. If the theologian's eternal, omnipotent, and only wise God is a reality, there must be a divine plan, and, as he is eternal, an eternal plan. The laws of nature must be his permanent volitions, and his eternity requires their permanence. This is old-fashioned theology, and we smile at the self-complacent lectures of the scientists aiming to impress us with this trite but divine old truth of the permanence of God's laws upon nature, and the uniformity of nature's obedience to those laws. Theology taught those truths before science was born. Even the miracle that crosses the orbit of the physical law is the acting of a higher law, the law of eternal reason in the divine mind, which moves with a larger orbit of uniformity all its own. So that the very miracle is fulfillment of law. Our phenomenal changes are based in the divine immutability. And to finite beings the uniformity of these laws is the ground of all calculation, and logic, and rational intelligence. Without this uniformity of nature's course man could never calculate, reason, or form a plan of conduct. These laws are the divine epistle from God to us. They are the mediators between the infinite mind and the finite mind, rendering an intelligent world possible. But the extreme physic-

al *lawolatry* that would imprison God in his own laws, or that would abolish God and let laws attempt to operate without their divine Main-spring, or that would make the divine Mechanist incompetent to intersect the course of the machine with the orbit of a higher nature, is not only ignoble, but contradictory to highest reason.

But the Professor tells us that, so far as science is concerned, "final causes have, one by one, disappeared from every thicket that has been thoroughly explored." We believe the statement to be manifoldly untrue. Taking final causes within the course of nature as proofs of God, and we believe the common sense of mankind affirms, with Horace Bushnell, "That all things around us are mind-molded is as certain as that there are things at all." The man who says the eye is not made to see with is on a par with the anti-geologist who says that the fossil remains of animals are mere spontaneous sports of nature, which never had life. You cannot refute him. If he has not the mental spring to grasp the plain truth there is no help for it. If the ear, in primordial correlation with the tongue and vocal organs, in primordial anticipation of articulate speech impregnate with thought, and thence in view of human society, advancement, and history, is not a thicket where final cause still displays itself, then the fossil mammoth is only one of old earth's night-mare dreams hardened into stone.

And there is, too, many a special "thicket," even within nature's courses, from which we suspect that, by dictate of universal common sense, God has not been expelled by science. Is not the molding of every human face performed by an immediate intelligent power, so that it possesses the expression of a true humanity and yet the special expression of individuality? Can science, Darwinian or not, explain how this specialty in universality is attained by any blind, natural, definite, molding power? Can science tell us how a tree, a maple for instance, can, apart from all intelligence, so shape its form, and put forth its branches, leaves, and fruit, as to remain in species a maple, and yet stay unlike any other one maple? Or in psychology, can any one show that a divine Spirit cannot touch the springs of the will, shed special clearness upon the intellect, kindle the emotions, or regenerate the soul? Or in physiology, can science affirm that an immediate intelligent power does not shape the human form, measure out its symmetries, and pour into its organism at will the strength of a powerful manhood? We have read a great many pages of Spencer, Tyndall, and Haeckel, about "heredity,"

and the analogy of crystallization and corn kernel to the human body, and the laws of similarity and variation in animal descent; and we are entirely sure that you have but to fix these reasoners down to specific points, and you will find that ultimate specializations can be explained only upon an underlying intellective, intentional basis. There is not only a "thicket," but a broad plain, an immense cosmos, from which the Almighty declines to be expelled. Yet here the scientific Professor, mounted on his infallible tripod, puts on, perhaps, a tone of modesty, and replies, "But science knows no such underlying intelligence." We reply, If science is competent to know that *force* exists because she sees motion, why can she not see that *intelligence* exists, when she sees the apparency of intelligently directed motion, that is motion directed to clear intelligential results? We apprehend this unknowing is the fault not of science but of the scientist. And our respected Professor may be well assured that the public mind will not be controlled by tripods, but will look for itself at facts and principles, and for itself will judge science and scientists. These professional annunciators, under atheistical predispositions for the purpose of a sensation, will have their day, and their reaction, and in the light of that reaction God will hold his undisturbed throne upon the mind of man.

Perhaps the pages of science herself present, also, some special thickets from which God has not been expelled. Campbell, in his reply to Hume on miracles, adduced the necessity of man's creation as an undeniable proof of miracle. In varied form his argument still remains. For, as deeply as excavating geology has found man, she has found him a complete man. Geologically he springs into sudden existence, a full grown humanity. And, by the geologic record, race after race of lower beings, and of plants, starts up with an epochal instantaneousness. How does science know that there was no God in all these sudden unheralded inaugurations? Has "final cause disappeared" from this "thicket?" Again, there was an azoic period, subsequent to which life commenced. Whence, then, was life? Here is still a much "explored" but uncleared "thicket." In his earlier day Darwin thought that originally God may have breathed life into a few primordial particles—*a miracle!* Has he furnished any better solution since?

We may now adduce some "thickets" of a non-scientific but historical character from which it is not easy to expel a superphysical presence, or deny an interruption in the chain of physical causations. Want of space limits us to an instance or two.

Our first historical "thicket" is the phenomena in the Wesley family of rappings and other manifestations from no corporeally human source, for months continued. They were examined under all conceivable theories, by the most skillful investigators, and set all theories at defiance which did not admit their superphysical character. The invisible agents of those phenomena acted with intelligent reference to the treatment they received. They had a palpable influence in producing that supernaturalism in the character of John Wesley by which he became the apostle of the eighteenth century. They are unquestioned historical facts, facts irreconcilable with the theory of "the mechanical course of nature," as excluding all supernatural interference. There are, therefore, intelligent beings, invisible to man, who do, probably under certain permitting conditions to us unknown, interpose in mundane affairs.

Swedenborg was one night in Gottingen, sitting in a social company. Suddenly he arose, went out the door, and after a while, returning, announced to the company that a great fire was raging in Stockholm, Sweden, describing with particularity its extent. Three days afterward the news arrived, confirming in every respect the statement of Swedenborg. The relator of this narrative is the philosopher, Kant, who declared that there is no doubt of its truth. No science can either annihilate that fact or explain it on any theory of an uninterruptible course of lower physical nature.

Our third "thicket" may seem of more doubtful character, and we adduce it only to suggest a solemn pause to skepticism. It is the historical fact of the awful thunders from heaven that saluted the declaration of the papal responsibility by the Vatican Council. It is thus related by the correspondent of the New York Tribune. He is describing the scene of the final vote on the infallibility question:—

> The names of the Fathers were called over, and *Placet* after *Placet* (vote after vote) succeeded *ad nauseam.* But what a storm burst over the church at this moment! The lightning flashed and the thunder pealed as we have not heard it this season before. Every *Placet* seemed to be announced by a flash and terminated by a clap of thunder. Through the cupolas the lightning entered, licking, as it were, the very columns of the Baldachino over the tomb of St. Peter, and lighting up large spaces on the pavement. Sure, *God was there*—but whether approving or disapproving what was going on, no mortal can yet say. Enough that it was a remarkable coincidence, and so it *struck the minds* of all who were present. And thus the roll was called for one hour and a half, with this solemn accompaniment, and then the result of the voting was taken to the Pope. The moment had arrived when he was to declare himself invested with the attributes of God—nay, a God upon earth. Looking from a distance into the hall, which was obscured by the tempest, *nothing was visible but the golden miter of the Pope,*

and so thick was the darkness that a servitor was compelled to *bring a lighted candle* and hold it by his side to enable him to read the decree by which he deified himself.

The next day after this blasphemous performance, Louis Napoleon, as son of the Church, commenced war in behalf of the infallible supremacy against Protestant Germany, and in less than three months took place the battle of Sedan, the prostration of France, the entrance of King Victor into Rome, and the downfall of the papal secular kingdom, which had stood ever since the days of Charlemagne. Such a combination of events may make the skeptic pause and wonder whether the divine purpose may not, after all, be sometimes "scrutable." Such a view infringes no principle of science. It questions not the intrinsic immutability of nature's laws. It forgets not that thunder is electricity, and that rain is condensed vapor. Not the less may the thunder be God's voice to man, and the pouring storm, and the black darkness, the tokens of his wrath. God can use them all for the crisis, and all nature's course be otherwise left unmarred, just as the air cleft by the arrow instantly closes its wound and retains no scar. We submit that special Providence is no contradiction to the intrinsic uniformity of nature's laws.

We have given but a few such facts simply from want of room. We can give abundance of them, of such a nature as to defy all adverse criticism. Not only in the books, but in our daily newspapers of the highest respectability, facts showing super-mundane interference in mundane sequences are narrated with perfect explicitness, by the most intelligent witnesses, published at the time and place with the broadest notoriety, uncontradicted by any party, and unexplained by any scientific Professor. When we are told that science "cannot know" these facts, we reply, that science can be as obstinate an ignoramus as she pleases; but she cannot expect that all history and the common sense of mankind will be ignoramus in her company.

The Foreknowledge of God, and Cognate Themes. By L. D. M'Cabe, D.D. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The mystery surrounding the nature of God is the most alluring and the most disappointing of all the mysteries that address themselves to human inquisitiveness. The works of nature are tantalizing in a high degree. The origin of matter, the laws of force, the relation of atoms, above all, the secret of life, have for ages drawn thoughtful minds to their thick darkness—drawn not to enlighten save in part, and to obscure more than enlighten. Yet

as scholars are allured to mysteries they cannot fathom, in proportion to their unfathomability they will be allured to the highest mysteries, and the highest of the highest is God.

One of the perplexities about the divine Being involves our freedom and his sovereignty. Another involves our freedom and his omniscience. Another involves his goodness and the misery inflicted on innocent and even virtuous beings. Another involves the existence of evil. Another, everlasting hell fire. Clouds and darkness are round about him. Dr. M'Cabe struggles with one problem, and seeks to solve it. Others are troubled about other problems. Said a distinguished preacher: "I cannot sleep nights because of the terrible doctrine of eternal punishment." But he did not solve it, notwithstanding his *insomnia.* If one seeks to escape by the door of eternal hope he falls into a deeper danger. Has Dr. M'Cabe escaped by the path he essays to tread? What is that path? The one advocated by Adam Clarke—as he also advocated non-eternal sonship, the conversion of Judas, the ape theory of the serpent, and other like ways of deliverance from stern and inscrutable truths—that God can unknow the moral acts of free moral creatures, or those that involve responsibility and accountability. His omniscience is limited by man's freedom of the will so far as man's responsibility is concerned. That freedom necessitates the unknowable in man and in God. If God knows those decisions, then they must be, and if must be, there is no liberty in their being, no freedom of will, no accountability, no morality, no reward or punishment possible. What does Dr. M'Cabe declare? That omniscience is irreconcilable with freedom of the will. That postulate will be eagerly denied, first by all Calvinists, second by almost all anti-Calvinists. Calvinists assert freedom and sovereignty to be co-existent. Their creeds all say of divine sovereignty that it so exists as not to interfere with the absolute freedom of the human will. Of course, they cannot explain this, nor fit it into any system of clear, rational thought; but they affirm it, nevertheless. All Arminians and liberalists of every school, even Deists not Calvinical, declare their belief in God's omniscience and in human liberty; and while they may be unable to explain how liberty can consist with omniscience, they none the less affirm liberty as absolute, and let omniscience, as it were, take care of itself. The Calvinist of every school, liberal and orthodox, is alike and more jealous for absolute foreknowledge, though he clings to divine sovereignty as a part of it. The anti-Calvinist joins his foreknowledge to freedom of the will. As "The Inde-

pendent" once put it, editorially, when it was under Dr. Thompson's management: "The Calvinist says, 'Divine sovereignty and human freedom;' the Arminian, 'Human freedom and divine sovereignty.'"

In developing his theme Dr. M'Cabe asserts that there are four kingdoms of God—Nature, Providence, Grace, Glory. In three of these there is no actual freedom of the will, and for the acts performed in them there is no accountability on the part of the actor. In nature every thing is fated, in general providence equally so, in the future reign in heaven equally so. The crucial test here is providence. Since he must concede foreknowledge of what seem to be free moral acts of accountable creatures in the fulfillment of prophecy, he has to declare that such foreknowledge does not involve responsibility. Cyrus did as God had arranged. The king's heart was in his hand, and for it he had neither praise or blame morally. Pharaoh ought to go into the same category, for he was as necessary to the fulfillment of prophecy as Cyrus. When we come to Judas he breaks down. Judas was not prophesied about, he asserts; and he attempts to abolish the prophetic meaning of the Twenty-second and Eighteenth Psalms, in which the people are presented as the persecutors; the thirty pieces, which Matthew, or the Holy Ghost through Matthew, says meant Christ and his betrayer; the One Hundred and Ninth Psalm, which Peter quotes as referring to Judas, and other prophetic passages, because, he says, if Christ knew him to be a bad man and knew he would betray him, and then chose him, he was to blame, and not Judas. Therefore he knew him not. But the Bible says he did, and wisely declines to explain the mystery. We may as wisely follow its example, though it can be explained on another line than that the Professor deems the only possible one, namely, the practical common sense which every pastor annually is compelled to pursue, that Judas, being a very prominent disciple, though not all that could be wished by the Master, was still too prominent to be kept out of the apostleship. If we have to allow and even nominate trustees and stewards, and to appoint class-leaders, and, worst of all, admit into the ministry, those whose Christian life is not perfectly unexceptionable, because public opinion requires it, when we fear the outcome, so must he, as the Son of man, building his Church out of men, take this chiefest of his disciples, even if he knew, as God, that he had a devil and would betray him. He must not act according to his foreknowledge in such human affairs, any more than he must command the

stones to be made bread, or cast himself down from the temple, though possessed of the power to feed and to save himself. Whether this theory be true or not, one thing is true, that the Scriptures plainly teach that Christ should suffer and die from the hand of man, as well as that he should, as God, give up his life of himself. The attempt to exclude this fact weakens and substantially destroys the whole argument. For this attempt, if successful, abolishes the fifty-third of Isaiah and the whole prophetic character of the sacrifices. To accept it abolishes this theory, that a man working under providence is not amenable for his acts. To deny it abolishes practically the Old Testament. Better abandon the theory.

The whole work is conditioned on this necessity of God's ignorance of the responsible acts of free moral beings. He is protected by his resources against every emergency. He cannot be surprised and overborne. He knows every way the free will can act, and is ready at the gate of its action to lead or to oppose it. The least we can say of the effort is the Scotch verdict—"Non proven." The human instinct will not surrender omniscience. It will not surrender freedom of the will. The attempt to prove the necessitation of all acts under foreknowledge we gravely question; the assertion we unqualifiedly doubt and deny. That is Calvinical. Foreknowledge necessitates foreordination. Against that John Wesley fought all over England with every Calvinist and fatalist in pulpit and philosophy, with Whitefield no less than with Toplady. Against that Fletcher wrote his brilliant pamphlets. Against that Watson rolled out his great sermons and treatise. The human soul, the intuitional faculties, our guides here as in so much else that is dark to reason's glimmering sense, affirm at once perfect omniscience with perfect freedom, and without predestination. The work is, therefore, in the interest of the Calvinist more than that of the Arminian. He is already commending it and deducing predestination from it, for he knows the universal sense of man will never deny omniscience. On the other hand, it surrenders what no freedomist will concede. Freedom of the will, excluded from three kingdoms, is easily ejected from the fourth. Matter only is under absolute fate, mind nowhere and never. Both schools will reject this attempt to reconcile them. It is amiably and ably written, but is erroneous in its fears, and, therefore, its reasonings are as needless as they are useless. Our brother will yet regret the publication. Like much which preachers think, it should remain unspoken. The word and the Spirit are our guides.

They are enough. Let this attempted knowledge await the hour when it shall vanish away, and light celestial pour in upon the understanding. Not then the light which no man can approach unto, but which convinces the recipient that the two grandest truths in God and man remain, and shall forever remain, untouched—his absolute knowledge, our absolute freedom. H.

◆

Discussions in Church Polity. From Contributions to the "Princeton Review." By CHARLES HODGE, D.D. Selected and arranged by Rev. WILLIAM DURANT. 8vo., pp. 532. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Between the years 1835 and 1841 the stately mind of Dr. Hodge traversed the subject of ecclesiastical polity, and published the results in the "Princeton Review." From this series a selection was made by the hand of a recent pupil, received the approbation of the author, and now appears in the form of the present noble posthumous volume. It first discusses the general nature of a Church, its visibility, perpetuity, administrative authority and relations to the State, Presbyterianism, the Church of England and Presbyterian orders, Presbyterian Liturgies.

A second part narrows the ground to a discussion of the history and intent of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church. It delineates in successive chapters a particular Church, church officers, the presbytery, the general assembly, discipline. The work will specially interest the members of that venerated branch of the Church of Christ in which the author was so eminent a teacher, but presents many pages worthy the general interest of Christian thinkers.

We were specially attracted by his chapter on the Church of England and Presbyterian Orders. It calls to mind the fact how many of the highest Anglican authorities maintain essentially the full rightfulness and validity of our Wesleyan Episcopacy. Dr. Hodge quotes from Dr. Goode Hooker's words, as follow:—

> The next testimony is that of Hooker, who says: "There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reasons to allow ordination made without a bishop. *The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power*, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain; howbeit, as the ordinary cause is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted into spiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God himself doth of himself raise up any. . . . Another, ... when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep."—*Ecclesiastical Polity*, vii, 14. See also iii, 11.
>
> "In a former passage of the same book," says our author, [Dr. Goode,] Hooker "distinctly admits the power of the Church at large to take away the episcopal form of government from the Church, and says:—

> "'Let them [the bishops] continually bear in mind that it is rather the force of custom, whereby the Church, having so long found it good to continue the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honor them, in that respect, than that any true and heavenly law can be showed, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear that the Lord himself hath appointed presbyters forever to be under the regiment of bishops;' adding, that 'their authority' is 'a sword which the Church hath power to take from them.'"—*Ibid.*, vii, 5. See also i, 14, and iii, 10.—Pp. 152–153.

These are the very grounds on which Wesley, in his diploma to Coke, bases his action; the very grounds on which our Constitution and Discipline place our Episcopacy; the grounds on which we have based our defense of our polity in our Quarterly.

There are some thinkers among us who seem ambitious to claim that we are "Presbyterians." We are so in the same sense that all the Churches of Christendom are Presbyterian. All hold to the rightfulness of a Presbyterial order. But we are not Presbyterian in the sense that a third order or ordained grade of ministry is unscriptural or unauthorized. Nor is our organization, with its normal reserve of the function of ordination to an ordained executive, properly Presbyterian. We are Episcopal in the same sense that Hooker was Episcopal, holding to an ordained number of ministers to whom is intrusted the ordaining and superintending responsibility; but whose power and office go forth from the power and will of the Church, which is fully competent to withdraw its will and abolish the office by its proper constitutional methods.

◆

The Roman Conflict; Or, Rise, Power, and Impending Conflicto f Roman Catholicism, as seen in Ancient Prophecy, Ceremonial Worship, Mediæval and Modern History, with a Sketch of Protestant Claims and Doctrines. Illustrated in steel and wood, with many full-page plates of Churches, Temples, Ceremonial Rites, and portraits of Popes, Princes, and Cardinals, and Martyrs of Persecution. By Rev. JAMES SHAW. 8vo., pp. 603. For the Author. Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis: Hitchcock & Walden. New York and San Francisco: Nelson & Phillips. Toronto, Canada: Samuel Rose. London, Wesleyan Conference Office: T. J. Jobson. 1878.

Mr. Shaw was born and educated in the midst of a Romanistic population, and by intercourse and general reading possesses both a practical and theoretical knowledge of the Romish system. The present volume is prepared for the purpose of giving to the English-speaking world the same knowledge of that remarkable phenomenon. It is furnished with exterior attractiveness, to render it acceptable to the popular attention and to give it a wide public reception. We trust it will obtain a general circulation and perusal. The truth cannot be too well understood or too deeply impressed, or too conducive to energetic action. The Roman politico-ecclesiastical body is in our midst, an atrocious conspiracy

against the liberties of the country and the well-being of mankind. By its own avowals it claims supremacy over civil governments, enthroning an old Italian priest as absolute Cesar over us and over all the human race. It only wants the power to raise the inquisition over our land to arraign us before the grim tribunal of the "Holy Office," and to inflict the thumb-screw and the fagots upon all insurgents against the tiara. Its failure will be, we believe, complete and ignominious, but only on condition that the public mind is well-informed and pre-armed against its purposes. Hence works like this, tending to keep our people alert and active, cannot be too extensively circulated. It is a battle of truth and freedom against lie and despotism, and truth must be ever giving forth an aggressive activity. The work is divided into four parts. The first gives us popery as antichrist in prophecy; the second, Romanism as modified paganism; the third, Rome as foe to freedom and religion; the fourth, Romanism as a final failure. The four positions are sustained by an immense array of facts, and the conclusions are necessary from the premises.

It would have been well if one fourth or one third of the earlier part of the volume had been devoted to a brief but lucid history of the origin of the popedom, and the steps by which it advanced to power and supremacy. On what strata of fraud, falsehood, and perjury its throne is based a succinct history would show. The omission of such a narration gives the book a too exclusively polemical character. What the popedom is the popular mind must gather by scattered statements ranged under piecemeal propositions. The author plunges at once into prophecies and arguments, when the real subject is but obscurely known to the ordinary reader.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. With Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical. Designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. HENRY COWLES, D.D. 12mo., pp. 244. New York: Appleton & Co. 1878.

Dr. Cowles gives us a very able argument in his Introduction, maintaining that the book of Hebrews was written by Luke, and was addressed to the Hebrews at Cesarea, who had been converted under the preaching of Paul, Timothy, and himself, during the two years of Paul's imprisonment at that city. Thereby the doctrine is Pauline, for Luke's theology was one with Paul's; the style is Greek, and Luke was not a Hebrew, but a Gentile. We agree with him, at any rate, in the opinion that there is very slender ground for attributing the epistle to Apollos. But we see no characteristic resemblance between Luke's style, where he is un-

questionably the writer, as in his history of Paul's shipwreck and its sequences, and the style of this epistle. We do see a great difference between two or three of Paul's several styles of language and that of the epistle, and yet there is also a style or two of Paul's which is very much the style of Hebrews. As to the style of thought underlying the diction, that is, its modes of argument, its suspending the train of thought for a digression and then returning to it, there are eminently Pauline instances in the epistle. The historical evidence is almost exclusively for Paul. We suspect that all the peculiarities of style are explicable upon supposition of Pauline authorship.

The Notes are, in the main, excellent, suited to the people, yet not below a scholarly level. There are several Excurses in the Appendix. Three of them—one on Perseverance of the Saints, one on Premillennialism, and one on the Higher Life—will appear convincing mostly to those who already agree with the author.

◆

A Treatise on Justification. By R. N. Davies. 16mo., pp. 251. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Philips. 1878.

Mr. Davies takes our Wesleyan-Arminian definition of justification as a central position, and shows with what a many-sidedness it throws off the assaults of errorists from every quarter. He demonstrates how our view of justification, strictly maintained, solves the errors successively of Calvinists, Romanists, Universalists, Imputationists, Campbellites, and Skeptics. His logic is close and clear, his style is grave and perspicuous, and altogether his book seems a monograph quite worthy the study of the thoughtful theologian.

◆

The New Testament Idea of Hell. By S. M. Merrill, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 16mo., pp. 276. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

Bishop Merrill's book is a "tract for the times," flung in opportunely to meet the demands of a pending discussion. He bases himself entirely upon Scripture, and endeavors to bring his solemn subject into the clear comprehension of the popular mind. His purpose is to show that the Hades and Gehenna are presented in the Bible as realistic facts. It is not so much a verbal discussion as a "factual" discussion. He shows against the arguments of the most popular expositors of Universalism at the present day that the *facts* are just what the Church of the past has cognized them to be. The nature and duration of future penalty the Bishop reserves for discussion in another volume, to be published.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. By English and American Scholars of Various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. In four volumes. Vol. I. Introduction, and the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Royal 8vo., pp. 508. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

This is a beautiful volume externally, and a valuable volume internally. As a commentary it claims to be "international and interdenominational." That is, its authors are, respectively, on both sides the ocean and in different sects of Protestantism. Of Methodists, Professor Pope annotates the three Epistles of John in connection with Professor Moulton; and Professor Moulton shares in the Apocalypse and the Gospel of John. Drs. Schaff and Riddle do the entire of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. With Dr. Schaff Dr. Riddle has Romans, and he Ephesians alone; and we hope Dr. Riddle will be rescued from saying quite as unwise things as he did in Lange's Romans.

The maps and illustrations are of surpassing beauty. The text is in large type, and, though the volume is larger, the notes we judge, from a glance, are really less extensive than those of our Commentary now being issued from our Book Rooms. We welcome its issue, and commend it to public attention. Price, $6.

The Prophet Isaiah, Theologically and Homiletically Expounded. By CARL WILHELM EDWARD NÄGELSBACH. Translated from the German, with Additions. By Rev. SAMUEL T. LOWRIE, D.D., and Rev. DUNLOP MOORE, D.D. 8vo., pp. 741. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Our American biblical scholars will trace the pages of this volume of the great commentary with no little interest. Two great questions, especially, are involved in the study of the "evangelical prophet," hitherto so called by the "evangelical" Church. The first concerns the integrity of the book. Is the specter of a pseudo-Isaiah, conjured up by "the higher criticism," a reality? Is the book to be "sawn asunder?" The second concerns the Messianic interpretation of the fifty-third chapter. On both these questions Dr. Nägelsbach will be found eminently satisfactory.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Nineteenth Century for November, 1878. Article, Virchow and Evolution. By Professor TYNDALL.

Mr. Tyndall, feeling that Virchow's manifesto against the knight-errantry of scientists in running into speculations and parading the specters they there found for realities of science rather seems

to cut across himself, enters a defense. With the defense itself we at the present have nothing to do. But as the Professor here reaffirms "the growth of the human body to be mechanical," as maintained in his article on "Force and Matter" in his "Fragments of Science," we propose to give a fuller notice of that argument for such "growth" than we did when it first appeared. The argument as by him given takes four steps, and consists in an attempt to show, in very diffuse and variegated style, that, as men built the pyramids of Egypt, so crystallization can build mechanically a pyramid of molecules, and vegetation can equally mechanically build a kernel of corn, and organization can equally mechanically build a human body. No intelligent power is needed in the last three of the aforesaid four buildings. Let us trace his four steps, and try to ascertain for ourselves.

1. Mr. Tyndall shows us the pyramids of Egypt, and describes them graphically as being built by "power," in "a form" which "expressed the thought of the human builder." That is, be it noted, these pyramids were built by blended *force* and *intelligence* incarnated in men. 2. He then tells us that salt and water under evaporation will, by molecular force, form itself into similar pyramids. These molecules are "self-posited," "being fixed in their places by the forces with which they act upon each other." Here creeps in his first fallacy, namely: the assumption, which no theist is bound to concede, that these molecules all march into their places without any intellective guidance, insensate matter acting as intelligently as so many soldiers stepping into rank to form a phalanx. The possibility of such action the theist at once declines to grant; and for that refusal what remedy has Mr. Tyndall? The very analogy of the Egyptian pyramids warns us that for the building of a salt pyramid there must be the same blend of force and intelligence to put the blocks in place. He, indeed, admits the *force* to produce the motion; but it is as plain that there is a *selective direction* of the motion as that there is *force*. And it is as plain that there are both a *force* and a *selective direction*, as that there is a molecule at all. Now, as force is a physical factor, so is selective direction an intellective factor. The theist, therefore, is not in the slightest degree bound to concede that the salt pyramid is built without a guiding intelligence any more than the stone pyramid. 3. Mr. Tyndall next takes up a kernel of corn, and, by a polarized light, shows us that the kernel is built by the same sort of molecular action as the salt pyramid. He then tells us that, if we "have rejected the notion of an external architect"

in the case of the salt pyramid, we are bound to reject it now, and hold the molecules of the corn "self-posited." That simply hooks his second fallacy on to his first fallacy. Disregarding the irrelevant phrases about "an external architect," which nobody supposes, our theist refuses to grant that without intelligent direction united with force the molecules can make any movement at all. 4. Mr. Tyndall lastly takes the animal body, and analogically argues with the same inconsequence that the molecules, all without any intelligent guidance, "posit" themselves in places, each one stepping to his post to form with the rest an extended, symmetrical organism!

And that is a self-contradictory and absolutely impossible conception. A brick is a big piece of matter, and a molecule is a little one; and if without any intelligence, internal or external, a brick cannot, at the required instant, start up from the ground and fling itself right into the vacant niche formed by the requirement of the rising pyramid, how can the little piece of matter, just as destitute of intelligent direction or self-direction, fling itself at the exact instant into just the exact vacant point, in order to furnish a large and complex organism consisting of a variety of symmetrical and correspondent parts? Suppose the organism be a huge mastodon, or a devil-fish, with a thousand Briarean arms, we are called upon in vain to believe that an unintelligent molecule, undirected by any intelligence that can comprehend the whole complex organism, can, at the right instant, put itself in the right point; and that myriads of blind, unguided little pieces of matter can also so combine with reference to each other as to form that contingent and varied whole. Each one particle must, with vast varieties of contingencies, act with perfect reference to the contingent and varied motions of every other particle, and with exact and perfect reference to the final whole. And if we suppose the whole cosmos to be a symmetrical whole, then an intelligence co-extensive with the cosmos, yet not overlooking one molecule in the whole cosmos, is a logical necessity for the due location of each one of the entire infinities of the molecules. Theology rightly assumes such a cosmos, and so infallibly infers a God.

Cicero's ancient illustration, wrought into modern terms, is as decisive an argument as can be selected. Is it not perfectly self-contradictory to claim that solid metallic types could so start into spontaneous action, give themselves self-direction, and among an infinite number of possible points so posit themselves, each at the right point, as to form a Bancroft's History of America? First, it

is conceded by all physics that every existing molecule is inert; that is, destitute of the power of self-motion; so that the said types could not start into motion. And as every existing molecule is destitute of self-motion, so all the powers of attraction, repulsion, cohesion, and motion belonging to molecules are not intrinsic to the molecule, but are *addenda*, superadded to it from a foreign source; so that even the coherence of the molecules by which the solid type is formed is interpolated from a foreign source. But, *second*, the motion being supposed possible, the *particular* motion, amid an infinity of possible directions, is conceivable only by the assumption of *selective intelligence.* The *problem* is, How can a solid mass of molecules, composing a metallic type, select its place in view to form this American History? And how can this process be repeated so that say a million types shall so *posit* themselves as each to assume the point requisite to the formation of this exact whole? The only *solution* that the human mind can conceive for such a problem is—*selective intelligence.* And it must not be a mere speck of intelligence in each molecule; but for each molecule there must be a comprehension of the whole history. The position of every type has reference to the whole book. The intelligence that fixes each type to its place must know the whole in order to assign the place for each one. But this book itself has a further system of intellective connections. It is a representation of an external series of facts belonging to the history of the outer world, the great system of events of the founding of this our American nation—a system by which the entire system of human history is remarkably modified. The "positing" of each one metallic type, then, has a reference to the great whole of human history. Now, instead of this book substitute the cosmos. There is in that cosmos an infinity of relations and references just as clearly intellective as the relations of the types to the words of the book, as the relations of the words to the sense, and as the relations of the sense to the great summary of historical externalities. The whole cosmos must, therefore, be comprehended by one all-grasping Intelligence, which takes in at once each molecular item, and the cosmical whole, and holds them a unit. That intelligence can be nothing less than God. To deny it, we submit, is an abdication of common sense.

Mr. Tyndall endeavors to supply the absence of intelligence by such phrases as "structural energies," "attractions," and repulsions. But, first, what is a "structural energy?" How does it look? What is it made of? Who made it? And the more

steadily we look at it we shall find it to be a nothing in the world. It presupposes a directive intelligence in the molecule, and so we have an infinite number of molecular intelligences. But each molecule, as we have shown, must have more than *a* molecular intelligence; it must know more than enough to crawl to *a* point, it must know the whole organism in order to know enough to crawl to *the* point. That is, we must have a practical omniscience in every molecule.

Now, Mr. Tyndall's "structural energy" is a poor edition of the "plastic power" of the grand old philosopher, Cudworth; a conception that philosophic theologians have, for, perhaps, well considered reasons, disused. Yet Cudworth's "plastic power" was not, like Mr. Tyndall's "formative energy," unintelligent. It was, as we may say, a *so much deity* as was necessary, set apart for the carrying on of the physical world. Indeed, "the plastic power" has received a new illustration from the old Cartesian doctrine, now adopted by physicists, of the "conservation of force." This doctrine affirms that there is through all ages the same amount of force engaged in the physical cosmos. It is, then, still left with the theologian to assume that this is but a part of the omnipotence lying back of or above it in the divine Being. To our physical system God has assigned its fixed amount of force, sufficient to carry it on with all practical completeness, subject to all the interpositions his reserve omnipotence pleases. This would serve to explain the "course of nature," with all its completeness and incompleteness, its fixities and its accidentalities, its goods and its evils. The "plastic power" is omnipotence itself working under self-assigned conditions of finite cause and effect. In every molecular movement the force requires omnipotence, and the directivity requires omniscience; for without the omnipotence that force could not exist, and without the omniscience that directivity could not exist; yet only so much force and so much intelligence is added as will accomplish the finite object—an infinitesimal drop from the infinite ocean.

This completes our view of his argument in his "Fragments of Science," but we have a point or two more to make.

In this same Nineteenth Century the Professor quotes the following words from Professor Knight, applauding them as "bold words to be spoken before the moral philosophy class of a Scotch University." We think they are as foolish as they are "bold:" "If matter is not eternal, its first emergence into being is a miracle beside which all others dwindle into absolute insignificance. But

it has often been pointed out that the process is unthinkable." But, we reply, the creation of matter is no more unthinkable than the eternity of matter. Creation from nothing is just as valid a thought as eternity without beginning or end. And as we know eternity, however unthinkable, to be a valid reality, so the unthinkability of creation, if true, does not destroy the validity of creation. But neither is unthinkable, but only *unpicturable.* That is, we cannot shape them into a conceptual form, as we can a horse or a hand-saw, although they are valid to the higher reason. No more can we think into conceptual form Spirit, or Herbert Spencer's "Unknown Absolute," or Professor Tyndall's "promise and potency in matter" for forming an intellective cosmos. Nothing transcending the senses can be mentally pictured. And this is so well known a fact in philosophy that one is amazed at the persistence with which unthinkability, that is, *unpicturability*, is assigned for rejecting creation.

Mr. Tyndall assures us that he discerns a "promise and potency in poor despised matter" capable of evolving all the phenomena of the world. So do we, Mr. Tyndall. And that "promise and potency" is the *causa causarum*, the immanent God, who is in the matter by him created, sustaining it in existence, endowing it with powers, and carrying it through all its operations. He is the soul of the world, the light of lights, the life of life, the inner substratum of all phenomena. And this answer, assumed as final, leaves to science all her investigations, her theories, and her systems.

◆

Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1877. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the Assistance of Eminent Men of Science. 12mo., pp. 480. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

The almost world-wide co-operation of the ardent and laborious sons of science is assuming an aspect of something like sublimity. Each individual is alive and productive in his own little sphere, like a coral evolving his own little mite, until, by unanimity and continuity, the system of science rises like a grand continent before the mind's eye. This is a divine work, for more and more it becomes evident that creation is a divine revelation. Yet when, from rigid habits of limiting his thoughts to the objective, he forgets or denies the existence of the infinite Revealer, that is a sin not of the flesh, but of the spirit, for which it should be firmly declared that he stands fearfully responsible. Atheism is *sin;* the promulgation of atheism is *crime.* The unbeliever in God is the moral enemy of man.

The present volume is rather more systematically arranged than its predecessors. The different departments are assigned each to an eminent scientist. We note that the very important department of "Agriculture and Rural Economy" is assigned to Professor Atwater, of Wesleyan University, Middletown. The science of theoretical and practical agriculture has a great future before it. Our vast North American Continent opens a field of immense grandeur for its development.

We do not perceive that the year has evolved much new discovery in the fields where our Quarterly is principally interested—biology and anthropology.

The following extract seems to furnish the present *status* of the doctrine of

Spontaneous Generation.—Dr. Bastian has recently read before the Royal Society a paper giving an account of some further researches "illustrative of the condition favoring archebiosis in previously boiled liquids," summing up as follows: The experiments show, as others have done, that living matter may, and does, originate independently during the progress of fermentation in previously germless fluids; insoluble products reveal themselves as specks of protoplasm, "living" matter, emerging gradually into the region of the visible, and speedily assuming the well-known forms of one or other variety of *Bacteria*, thus bridging, as he conceives, the narrow gulf between certain kinds of "living" and "dead" matter, and affording the long-sought-for illustration of the transition from chemical to so-called "vital" combinations! In the "Lancet," August 5, will be found an interesting note upon M. Pasteur's reply to Dr. Bastian on the heterogeny controversy. M. Pasteur, while admitting that Dr. Bastian's experiments, as detailed in his communication to the Paris Academy of Sciences, are very accurately conducted, asserts that a temperature of 50° C. (122° Fahr.) is not sufficient to kill the germs of the minute organisms which may be introduced by means of the solution of potash employed by Dr. Bastian. He considers it fully proved, from his own experiments, that the germs of certain organisms, which do not resist a temperature of 100° in acid solutions, are capable of such resistance in neutral or slightly alkaline fluids. He expresses the hope that Dr. Bastian will abandon his faith in spontaneous generation, and classes its supporters with the theorizers in physics and mathematics, who believe in perpetual motion or the quadrature of the circle. Professor Tyndall, after having read Pasteur's reply, gives entire adherence to his views, and calls "on all enlightened persons to banish from science this doctrine of spontaneous generation, which has nothing whatever to support it." In a recent communication to the "British Medical Journal," Professor Roberts, of Manchester, commenting on Dr. Bastian's claims, states that his experiments are decidedly in favor of Pasteur's conclusions, and, indeed, that to a logical evolutionist there would appear to be a strong *a priori* improbability in the abiogenic origin of *Bacteria*. When Pasteur says that abiogenesis is a chimera, he prudently adds, "in the present state of science;" and, even thus qualified, the expression is perhaps too strong. But it is absolutely certain that up to the present time no case of abiogenesis has been presented which has stood the test of accurate investigation. Dr. Tyndall has recently repeated at Kew, where he found a purer atmosphere than at the Royal Institution, his last year's experiments with perfect success, and without the annoying failures due to the atmosphere of the Institution being laden with germs from a quantity of hay, and has thus once more proved his case against Dr. Bastian. In every experiment but one the specimens showed no trace of life; in that one a small aperture like a pin-hole was in the side of the test-tube.—Pp. 243, 244.

Common Basis of Animal and Vegetable Life.—Herr Cienkowsky, well known for his researches on monads, has recently contributed some additional informa-

> tion upon these and allied organisms, which appear to show that the boundary-lines which it has so long been usual to draw between plant and animal organisms, and between the individual groups of those lowest forms of life, appear more and more illusory, and the supposition is recommended of a common lowest kingdom of organisms, that of *Protista*, (Haeckel,) out of which animals and plants have by degrees been differentiated.—P. 246.

This bottom oneness of animal and vegetable life presents an interesting phase of thought. Whether higher life ascends ideally or genetically is a question not disturbed by such a fact. It must be remembered that vitality is not in itself intelligence, but is a basis upon which intelligence is overlaid. And the very fact that vitality in animal and vegetable is the same entity, demonstrates the fact that the overlying intelligence is a different and a higher entity. We have, then, this column, placing lowest lowest.

PURE REASON—Solely human.

INTELLIGENCE—Animal and human.

VITALITY—Vegetable and animal and human.

This is the old trinal philosophy, the philosophy of the Old Testament and the New; of Plato and of Paul; of the early Christian antiquity and the best modern thought; the philosophy that finds in man the trinity of body, soul, and spirit. It is upon this philosophy that the immortality of man, as distinct from brute, can be maintained. Nor is this trinality at all disturbed by the fact that the apparent boundary line between plant and animal is often crossed or obliterated. For whatever the form may be, the slightest element of true *sensation* in the individual renders it an animal. The true boundary line may, therefore, be imperceptible to observation, but is none the less real.

Genetical Development Downward.—There is a discussion in progress about the exact boundary line of the Vertebrates. Shall the lower order of *Tunicates* be included as a sort of degenerate vertebrate? On this Professor Lankaster says:—

> He thinks, like Dr. Anton Dohrn, that evolution may tend in different directions, and that, although on the whole it is in the direction of progression from the low to the high, it may be, and in a number of cases he believes actually has been, toward degradation. "So strong," says he, "is the case in favor of degeneration, that at present all that can be said against it and in favor of progression, with regard to any particular case, is this—that the general doctrine of evolution justifies us in assuming, at some period or other, a progression from the simplest to the most complicated grades of structure; that we are warranted in assuming at least one progressive series leading from the monoplast to man; and that *until we have special reason* to take a different view of any particular case, we are bound to make the smallest amount of assumption by assigning to the various groups of organisms the places which they will fit into, on the supposition that they do represent in reality the original progressive series. . . . When, therefore, the hypothesis of degeneration presents itself as a solution of any special morphological difficulty, we need have no scruples or prejudices in favor of the doctrine of universal progression which should prevent us from accepting it." Thus

reasoning, he urges that the Tunicates are degraded Vertebrates; that their systematic relations with the members of that group are evidenced by the chorda of the larval stage; and that there has been quite a general tendency toward degeneration in these animals.—P. 285.

An Ancient Atlantic Continent.—The results of soundings over the bed of the Atlantic have made clear the existence through the middle of the ocean, extending from north to south, of a sunken ridge, often less than 1,000 fathoms from the surface, while on either side the water has a depth of from 3,000 to more than 3,450 fathoms; so that the elevation of the ocean's bottom required to make these depths dry land would bring up between them a mountain range from 9,000 to 15,000 feet in height. The higher points of this sunken ridge now form the islands of the Azores—St. Paul's, Ascension, and Tristan d'Acunha. This discovery was, in a manner, anticipated in 1860 by Unger, who, from his studies of the Tertiary flora of Europe and America, was led to imagine a land connecting the two regions, over which the plants of North America had passed eastward. This, he supposed, might be the vanished Atlantis of which Plato has preserved the tradition.—P. 179.

A Preliminary Account of the General Results of the Exploring Voyage of H.M.S. "Challenger," during the Year 1873 *and the Early Part of the Year* 1876. By Sir C. Wyville Thomson. Illustrated with maps, charts, diagrams, and numerous wood-engravings. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.

What is the geography of the sea-bottom? What about its possible plains, and hills, and mountains, and caverns? What is the truth about its animal and vegetable forms of life? These are emphatically *deep* questions? When the soundings were performed in laying the Atlantic cable the subject was deeply probed. Previously to that process science shook her wise head at the idea that the ocean-floor was the abode of living residents. Says the author of these volumes, Sir Wyville Thomson:—

> It was almost as difficult to believe that creatures comparable with those of which we have experience in the upper world could live at the bottom of the sea, as that they could live in a vacuum or in the fire. Of many of the conditions at great depth we as yet knew nothing; but some of them were as easily determined by calculation as by direct experiment, and we knew that an animal at a depth of one thousand fathoms must bear a weight of a ton on the square inch, and one at a depth of three thousand the almost inconceivable weight of three tons; and we had every reason to believe that the sun's light is almost entirely cut off at a depth of fifty fathoms, and that therefore the existence of plants upon which the animals primarily depend for their food is impossible at great depths. These considerations alone seemed almost sufficient to place this question beyond the region of reasonable inquiry, and it was not until a considerable amount of evidence had been brought forward that what was called the "antibiotic" prejudice was in any degree overcome.

The excitement, wakened by the cable soundings, over these questions induced the British Government to strip the good ship "Challenger" of her war rig, and equip her with the varied appliances of science, to cross the broadest breadths of the ocean, and dredge her deepest depths. Vast ridges nearly north and south, with deep intervals, were found. The mean depth of the ocean is estimated at two thousand fathoms. Beneath the heavy superin-

cumbent pressure animal forms disport themselves, unaware of the weight they carry. They are brought up from their far-down-homes, and compelled to sit for their portraits, that the engraver's art may book them in these magnificent volumes, and display them before our eyes. So is every department of nature furnished to be the home of life.

Science may be too positive in her negatives. She cannot affirm that beings cannot "live in a vacuum or in the fire." We do not believe that *life*, conscious being, personality, is dependent on organization, or limited to material incarnations. The seraph of the Old Testament, "that adores and *burns*," has usually been interpreted as a living flame. Such a being might stand unchilled the intensest cold of inter-stellar space, or live congenially in the center of a planetary fire-ball not yet shelled with an incrusted surface. We do not believe that all is nonentity outside the reach of our senses. Spirits, with or without their spiritual investments, may find their most glorious homes, and build their most transcendental palaces, on the surface of a half-nebular globe, or amid the slag of a worn-out planet.

◆

Life in Other Worlds: Including a Brief Statement of the Origin and Progress of Life in Our World. By ADAM MILLER, M.D. With an Appendix of Three Sermons by Rev. H. W. THOMAS, D.D. Small 12mo., pp. 279. Chicago: Fox, Cole, & Co. 1878.

Dr. Miller is an eminent physician of the homeopathic school, who has, as a local preacher, been very efficient in the work of German Methodism, in past years. The present volume is an essay toward supplying the intermediate conceptions by which the chasm between our science and our religion may be bridged over, and both be easily thought in harmony. He rejects the Darwinian theory of life, holding it to be unproved, and finds no serious difficulty in the Scripture creation. His fullest discussion is in the department of astronomy. He has an ingenious theory for heating our planet without the use of a burning sun for its stove. The space between the sun and his planets is so cold that the north pole is a fire-brand in the comparison; how, then, can actual heat pass through that space to our earth? Light does, indeed, come from the sun, but heat cannot. How, then, is the heat kindled? The reply is, heat is not a substance, but a *motion;* the *motion* is produced on our earth by the collision of light with our atmosphere. Our atmosphere is, indeed, a lens; and the heat is produced by it just as by a glass lens with which a German smoker may light his pipe. The sun, then, may just as well be a snow-ball as a fire-

ball, being surrounded with a luminous coating which forever sends its arrows of light to our earth; arrows which kindle to fire as they strike our coating of air. Whence comes the eternal supply of light to the sun, unless direct from the exhaustless Father of Lights, he does not say. But his theory dispenses with the sensational prediction of the scientists, that the sun's fire is slowly going out, and that after all the planets have rushed into his mass, the whole will remain forever a black and lifeless char. In the moral world, too, he entertains the hope of a final cheerful result in eternity.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Tent Work in Palestine: A Record of Discovery and Adventure. By CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER, R. E., Officer in Command of the Surveying Expedition. With Illustrations by J. W. Whymper. Two Volumes. 8vo., pp. 376, 332. Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. New York: Appleton & Co. 1878.

We take to these volumes very kindly at first sight. The paper, the type, the mechanical work, are of the best. If a typographical error exists in them, it has not been our hap to light upon it. The page is so open and pleasant to the eye that as we read we seem to be looking into an honest man's face.

Our readers are, doubtless, aware that a few years ago societies were organized for a thorough systematic and scientific exploration of Bible lands. The different branches have their several fields. The American Society has been requested to undertake the Land of Moab. The English Society has chosen Western Palestine, and has made such a beginning as will, we trust, provoke the other organizations to similar good works.

In pursuance of the plans adopted by the Committee, Captain Stewart, of the Royal Engineers, began in January, 1872, the topographical survey of the territory in question, which extends from the Lebanon Mountains to the southern borders of Judah, and from the Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea, comprising an area of 6,000 square miles. His health, however, failed almost at the outset, and he was compelled to return to England, and Lieutenant Conder, also of the Royal Engineers, was appointed to the command of the expedition. Arriving in Palestine in July, 1872, the party spent three years in the work. When among the mountains of Upper Galilee they were attacked by the fanatical population of a Moslem village; every man of them (five Europeans and ten

natives) was more or less injured, and the officer in command compelled to cease from his labors, and seek health in his native England. He saved his papers, however, and has been engaged the past three years in arranging his mass of materials for publication. His survey covered 4,700 square miles. The remaining 1,300 were surveyed in 1877, by Lieutenant Kitchener, whose safety had been rendered more assured, meanwhile, by the condign punishment of the actors in the murderous attack of 1875.

The two volumes before us do not contain the scientific results of the expedition. These will be published in another work, which is now in process of preparation, with an entirely new map of Palestine, giving the location of every place as ascertained by the recent survey. The present work is a preliminary publication, narrating the haps and mishaps, the adventures and observations, of these three years spent among the mountains, the plains, the deserts, and the mongrel people, of the Holy Land. The thorough character of the general plan of the final report is seen in the following statement of Lieutenant Conder: "The survey is being prepared in twenty-six sheets. The plan will show towns, villages, ruins, roads, water-courses, buildings, tombs, caves, cisterns, wells, springs, and rock-cut wine-presses. The hills will, also, be delineated, and the cultivation shown, olives, figs, vines and palms being distinguished, and the wild growth, oak-trees, scrub, and principal separate trees will appear. The Roman milestones on the roads are marked, and every similar relic of antiquity; the heights of the various principal features are given; and the levels of the Sea of Galilee and Dead Sea have been fixed within a foot."—Pref., p. xvi.

All this is to be given on the scale of *an inch to the mile.* It is evident that the plan surpasses any thing that has gone before it in reference to Palestine, and that soon Bible students in all Christendom will be put in possession of new treasures of knowledge. The narrative of personal adventure is a happy introduction to the work which is to follow, and, moreover, has no small value of its own. The two, in fact, ought to be examined together.

The English Society have reason to be gratified with the rich fruits of their great enterprise; every mile of their allotted territory has been examined by scientific eyes. The men whom they chose for the work seem to have possessed rare qualifications. Lieutenant Conder has made no mean attainments in the sciences, the language, and the history involved in his mission; added to this

is a power of observation and description not always found in connection with such attainments. He seems to see every thing, not only the mountains and the plains, the forest and river, but beasts and birds, flowers and insects. He studies the people of various races in the land, their *physique*, their mental powers, their morals, their language, the manners and customs of their daily life, and the tools with which they do their daily work. Of the varied scenes which he witnesses, grave and gay, beautiful and grotesque, he gives graphic description. He has something of the poetic spirit withal, and when he stands upon some peak of Lebanon, at sunset, and describes the long shadows of the mountains, as they stretch onward over the plains, and fill the valleys with a steadily rising tide of darkness, or when he tells of the bright stars of the Syrian sky, there is a simple beauty in his speech which assures us that the word only does justice to the fact. The engravings, thirty-two in number, are new and good.

The last one hundred and thirty pages of the second volume we have read with especial satisfaction. They treat of the origin of the Fellahin, or peasants, their life and habits; the Bedawin, or Arabs; the Jews, Russian and German; and the fertility of Palestine. These are all described with a closeness of observation and a completeness of statement which are wholly beyond the reach of the rapid tourist, however intelligent and truthful. Lieutenant Conder is as skillful with the pen as with the theodolite, and we commend his work to the reader without reservation.

◆

History of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland Chiefly. By Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, late Professor in Ordinary of Theology at Basel. Translated from the Fourth Revised Edition of the German, by EVELINA MOORE. Vol. I., 8vo., pp. 422. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1878. Special edition imported by Scribner & Welford, New York. Price, $3.

Delivered originally as a course of lectures, this history, notwithstanding its thorough scholarly character, has a freedom and freshness of style very acceptable both to the student and the popular reader. The events are narrated with a pictorial vividness, the characters are portrayed with a living reality. For Luther, the principal figure, the writer has, notwithstanding a free dealing with his faults, a personal love. The attendant characters of Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Ulric von Hutten, are delineated large as life. And while the narrative cannot widely vary from what has long since become fixed and well-ascertained history, it wears all the colorings of a grand romance.

This interest is specially vivid during the period when the Ref-

ormation is a unit, with Luther for its personal center, and the scene is perpetually expanding over wider areas, into larger events, and more decisive successes; it fades as soon as the quarrels between the Reformers commence, when fracture and disaster break upon us, ominous of reaction, and prophetic of the woes of the coming Thirty Years' War, in which the destinies of religious freedom in Europe are at stake. Up to this period of discord, Luther's career is an advancing climax. He is a rare historic moral hero. He had at the Diet of Worms an opportunity, perhaps unparalleled in history, for a display of personal moral sublimity, and nobly and sublimely, yet not theatrically, did he perform. There was now and then an exuberant hyperbole of language on his way to the Diet that might have been spared. Some one has said that Wesley would have gone to Worms and have said nothing about "the devils plenty as tiles." Paul's last journey to Jerusalem in face of certain doom was a scene of pathos which heightened and softened the modest firmness. In Luther, the earthly grandeur of the powers he was to face awakened all the grandeur of his own soul. Yet he felt, additionally to all his own natural heroism, an incoming power not his own, buoying him up, and making every step firm and graceful over the surface of the underlying volcano. When in his after days he reviewed his own high bearing, he doubted whether the power for such action was truly in his own nature, and recognized the divine uplifting. In our argument with Professor Newcomb, on a previous page, we need not have hesitated to quote this lofty instance of a "scrutable" manifestation of the Divine, pouring the energy of a powerful manhood into a man of heroic faith. The question, *Was it a miracle?* would be too technical. If by *miracle* is meant an interposition between the sequences of physiological nature of an antecedent from above, we answer unquestionably, *Yes*. If by *miracle* be meant a violation of law, we reply, *No*. Such interchange between the physical course of nature and the dealings of the Divine is according to the normal rule of divine conduct, and is a true fulfillment of law.

One great merit of Luther seldom noticed is his doctrine of *tolerance*, in which he was almost the only true Protestant of his age, and anticipated a truth the world is even yet slow to learn. This doctrine he maintained not when he was the weaker party and needed the tolerance; it was when he was in power, and tolerance was a self-restraint. It was to his patron, the elector, about to do violence to the "prophets of Zwickau," who were

dishonoring the Reformation by their fanaticism, that Luther laid down the law of tolerance as clearly as, after centuries have passed, it could now be stated. Says our historian: "Luther applied to the elector through his friend Spalatin, and conjured him not to stain his hands with the blood of the prophets. In this he followed the true evangelical principle, *to which he adhered throughout his life*, namely, that truth cannot be disseminated, or error be checked, by violence; and when, at a later period, Calvin and Beza held the tenet that it is right and necessary to inflict capital punishment upon heretics—that is, those who hold mistaken opinions on the subject of religion—Luther's better and humaner sentiment recoiled affrighted."

In the cheery face and hilarity of manner with which Luther seemed to render his darkest trials endurable to himself we recognize a typical trait of our own American Lincoln. In both men under that light and foamy surface there were what depths!—depths of sadness, earnestness, wisdom, probity. In Lincoln's case a tragic end has rendered him an ideality in history, a truth stranger than fiction. Even before the lapse of time has softened his image with its shades, we already forget that he was our living contemporary, and place him almost amid the myths of antiquity.

◆

The Origin of Nations. In Two Parts. On Early Civilizations; On Ethnic Affinities, etc. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford, and Canon of Canterbury, Author of "The Four Great Monarchies," etc. 12mo., pp. 292. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1878.

A very valuable work on comparative chronology, sacred and profane, from a very high authority. In Part First, a scientifico-historical investigation and estimate of the early chronology of the earliest nations are given, with a comparison with the early biblical dates. In Part Second we have a survey of that wonderful ethnological chart given in the tenth chapter of Genesis; the various lines of descent from the primitive stock as there given are traced, and the true identifications, by the light of the latest investigations, with the later history and modern races, are ascertained. Biblical scholars will find this little work specially valuable as affording light upon some important questions.

In the first place the assumption made, even as a part of "science," that man began a "savage," and that ascending progress is the uniform law, is unquestionably antihistorical and false. All the recollections of the race point to a primitive "golden age," dishonoring the Reformation by such fanaticism, that Luther laid down the law of tolerance as clearly as, after centuries have passed, it could now be stated. Says our historian: "Luther replied to the elector through his friend Spalatin, and conjured him not to stain his hands with the blood of the prophets. In this he followed the true evangelical principle, to which he adhered throughout his life, namely, that truth cannot be disseminated, or error be checked, by violence; and when, at a later period, Calvin and Beza held the tenet that it is right and necessary to inflict capital punishment upon heretics—that is, those who hold mistaken opinions on the subject of religion—Luther's better and humaner sentiment recoiled afrighted."

In the cheery flash and hilarity of manner with which Luther seemed to render his darkest trials endurable to himself we recognize a typical trait of our own American Lincoln. In both men under that light and fossy surface there were what depths!—depths of sadness, earnestness, wisdom, probity. In Lincoln's case a tragic end has rendered him an ideality in history, a truth stranger than fiction. Even before the lapse of time has softened his image with its shades, we already forget that he was our living contemporary, and place him almost amid the myths of antiquity.

The Origin of Nations. In Two Parts: On Early Civilizations; On Ethnic Affinities, etc. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford, and Canon of Canterbury, Author of "The Five Great Monarchies," etc. 12mo., pp. 292. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1878.

A very valuable work on comparative chronology, sacred and profane, from a very high authority. In Part First, a scientific-historical investigation and estimate of the early chronology of the earliest nations are given, with a comparison with the early biblical dates. In Part Second we have a survey of that wonderful ethnological chart given in the tenth chapter of Genesis; the various lines of descent from the primitive stock as there given are traced, and the true identifications, by the light of the latest investigations, with the later history and modern races, are ascertained. Biblical scholars will find this little work specially valuable as affording light upon some important questions.

In the first place, the assumption made, even as a part of "science," that man began a "savage," and that ascending progress is the uniform law, is unquestionably antihistorical and false. All the indications of the case point to a primitive "golden age," and in this the consensus of the nations is so uniform as to assure its authority. The post-diluvians inherited the antediluvian civilization. Hence Assyria and Egypt are found to begin as civilized originals. There is, we believe, no exclusive stone age in those regions; and the so-called stone ages of Europe are later degenerations, arising from the distant emigration from the eastern seats. The dating of these stone ages back to pre-adamic antiquity is to be trampled upon as a pseudo-scientific fiction. Rawlinson does not explicitly say this last; but we do, and his whole work assumes its truth as a basis.

Rawlinson makes no attempt to reconcile the chronologies of the other nations of antiquity with the modest figures of the Hebrew Genesis. The more extended chronology of the Septuagint, however, covers every difficulty, even the difficulty of the claims of Egypt, by the reckoning of the more modern Egyptologists. It seems to us that the Septuagint translators, whose work was done in Egypt, were met by the chronological difficulty, and stretched the original text in their translation in order to cover the grounds. Many will prefer to assume the truth of the Hebrew, and to leave the discrepancy unreconciled. They will hold that, compared with any other chronology, the Hebrew is the most authoritative, and whatever contradicts it is false. This higher authority arises from at any rate two facts. First, the Hebrew is the only clear consecutive history covering the whole grounds, the rest are patches and tatters; and, second, the very modesty of the Hebrew is the contrast of simple truth with high antiquarian pretension. Said George Syncellus, ten centuries ago, "The writers on Chaldæan antiquity consider the accounts of Egyptian antiquity to be fabulous, and the writers on Egyptian antiquity hold a similar opinion with respect to the accounts of Chaldæan antiquity. Neither regards the other; but each weaves spider's webs in glorification of its own nation."

The early Egyptian chronology is a sham. It was a sham as first manufactured by the Egyptian priests. It is a sham when patched together and offered to our attention by modern Egyptologists. It has, indeed, been faithfully, laboriously, and honestly patched by them; but the highest merit of the work is its showing itself to be, earlier than the eighteenth dynasty, good for nothing. We laugh the gentleman in the face who quotes it as weakening the Genesis chronology. If, however, any one prefers to take the Septuagint and reconcile the other chronologies with its figures, he has an easy, if a satisfactory, task.

The Second Part of the book will be found very valuable to the student who wishes to connect history with its primeval sources. The African races are, of course, not traced very far. But there are a few tribal names in the chart that look like stems from which the branches may have spread and flourished southward. Yet if Professor Winchell or any other ethnologist chooses to believe, on grounds satisfactory to himself, that the southern African races originated in Lemuria or some contiguous region, although we do not believe with him, we do not know a single text of Scripture that conclusively contradicts him. We decline to believe because we have seen no adequate proof.

◆

The Invention of Printing. A Collection of Facts and Opinions descriptive of Early Prints and Playing-cards, the Block-books of the Fifteenth Century, the Legend of Laurens Janszoon Coster, of Haarlem, and the work of John Gutenberg and his Associates. Illustrated with fac-similes of early types and wood-cuts. By THEO. L. DE VINNE. Second Edition. 8vo., pp. 557. New York: Francis Hart & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

Of all human inventions, that of recording thought for transmission to contemporaries and for accumulation for posterity is the one which, without changing human nature, has most improved and elevated human conditions. It was a double process: the first part consisting in a perfected alphabet, and the second in a perfected typography. Neither of these two products had an inventor, for the remains of the olden times in regard to each show that the ultimate achievement was attained by infinitesimal advancements through ages by a succession of contributors. Letters have failed to record the name of their inventor, for the name of Cadmus simply signifies *The East*, and indicates only that the Greek alphabet and ours had their origin in the Phenician or Hebrew. Research has developed the fact that the last touch of improvement was given to typography by John Gutenberg; but it requires a dissertation to explain what his contribution was, and the unreflective mind might pronounce it a very minor achievement. For this final step the conditions to success were: 1. A surface on which the print could be impressed, which had long existed in the form of paper; 2. The proper ink, for which both the ingredients and the methods were already well known; 3. A reading public sufficiently large to furnish market for whole editions of a given book, and this had been created by the large amount of manuscript books, of picture books and cards, and educational hornbooks, produced by wood-engravers. 4. All now wanted was a good, delicate, movable, metallic type, run in a mold, and made

with clean exactness. And this was the single work of John Gutenberg, "the inventor of printing." Measured by its intrinsic magnitude it seems small enough; but measured by its secured, and, indeed, its immediate results, it was stupendous. The large edition was now an assured possibility, and the entire face of human improvement was changed.

Lately-found documents have dispersed many a popular tradition in regard to this last achievement. Gutenberg had the fate of a great many inventors. He worked long and patiently before results were attained. He struggled under want of pecuniary means. Of course, a greedy capitalist steps in, first patronizing, and then cheating him. In the present case said capitalist appears in the person of John Faust, or Fust, whom popular tradition has called the "inventor," but who invented nothing but methods of fleecing the true inventor. Having got Gutenberg into his power, he ejected him from the business, and substituted in his place a smart and nice young man, destined to be his son-in-law. Gutenberg, however, resumed work on his own bottom, and was admitted to the court of his petty sovereign, but died apparently poor and alone.

Mr. De Vinne has performed his work as a historian of this great subject with admirable ability and success. His work is the product of wide reading and thorough research. As a practical printer, he understands fully "the art and mystery" of his subject; as a reflective thinker, he comprehends its divine philosophy in its wide bearings; as a writer, he unfolds his views in a clear, fresh, and vigorous style. His book traces with great power one of the most wonderful lines of human history. It throws a clear light on the conditions and progress of the human intellect in the Middle Ages of Europe, and the genesis therefrom of our modern civilization.

Students' Ecclesiastical History. The History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries, from its First Foundation to the Full Establishment of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papal Power. By PHILIP SMITH, B. A., Author of "The Students' Old Testament History," and "The Students' New Testament History." With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 618. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Mr. Smith does not claim to have based his history in research among original documents and authorities; he assumes to stand as mediator between the great standards of Church history, German and English, and the popular reader or the young student. His purpose is by a compactness which does not lose clearness and coloring to furnish a practical *manual.* Its divisions are well ar-

ranged; its full index, with an admirable chronology adjusted to it, renders reference easy; while its copious supply of authentic engravings in ecclesiastical archæology bring vividly before the mind's eye suggestive images of the early Christian ages. The spirit of the author is in sympathy with his subject, with the ages he describes, and the nobler characters he delineates. The history of the Christian Church thus written is inspiring to the Christian heart.

The present volume covers the first ten centuries. A second will give the history of the Church of the Middle Ages, and a third of the Reformation. The present work begins with the divine founding of Christianity, and ends with the Papacy at its zenith. The spirit is unpartisan and moderate. The author is not high-Church, but, while he lacks the full pictorial style of Pressensé, he is less radical in his views.

He recognizes the divine consecration of Sunday as a permanent Christian Sabbath, although not technically distinguished by that name by the early Christians, but as "Lord's Day." He affirms not only the authenticity of the apocalypse, but, what is quite as important, he affirms the Domitianian date of that book, and attributes the modern questioning of that date to neological motives. The desire of the German exegetes to find Nero in the Apocalypse, and thus invalidate its canonicity, is the real ground for assailing the date of Domitian. Mr. Smith truly says, "No writer of the first three centuries gives any other date;" and he might have added, no writer before the sixth century gives the Neronian date. Through five centuries there is but one questioner of the Domitianian date, Epiphanius, and he gives a date which nobody believes, and then contradicts it himself.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin. By Rev. J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D. D. Translated by WILLIAM L. R. CATES. Volume VIII—Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Netherlands, Geneva, Denmark, Sweden, Norway. 12mo., pp. 363. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The history of which this is the final volume is too well known to need a new introduction to the reading public, and too well established in the public estimation to require new eulogies. There is a fascination in the pages of Merle D'Aubigné, which transcends that of romance as much as truth is superior to fiction. This volume is equal in interest and value to any that has preceded it in the series. The special fields which it traverses are Spain, with Charles V., Torquemada, the Inquisition, and the Spanish martyrs, ranged; its full index, with an admirable chronology adjusted to it, renders reference easy; while its copious supply of authentic engravings in ecclesiastical archæology bring vividly before the mind's eye suggestive images of the early Christian ages. The spirit of the author is in sympathy with his subject, with the ages he describes, and the nobler characters he delineates. The history of the Christian Church thus written is inspiring to the Christian heart.

The present volume covers the first ten centuries. A second will give the history of the Church of the Middle Ages, and a third of the Reformation. The present work begins with the divine founding of Christianity, and ends with the Papacy at its zenith. The spirit is unpartisan and moderate. The author is not high-Church, but, while he lacks the full pictorial style of Pressensé, he is less radical in his views.

He recognizes the divine consecration of Sunday as a permanent Christian Sabbath, although not technically distinguished by that name by the early Christians, but as "Lord's Day." He affirms not only the authenticity of the apocalypse, but, what is quite as important, he affirms the Domitianan date of that book, and attributes the modern questioning of that date to neological motives. The desire of the German exegetes to find Nero in the Apocalypse, and thus invalidate its canonicity, is the real ground for assailing the date of Domitian. Mr. Smith truly says, "No writer of the first three centuries gives any other date;" and he might have added, no writer before the sixth century gives the Neronian date. Through five centuries there is but one questioner of the Domitianan date, Epiphanius, and he gives a date which nobody believes, and then contradicts it himself.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin. By Rev. J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Translated by William L. R. Cates. Volume VIII—Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Netherlands, Geneva, Denmark, Sweden, Norway. 12mo., pp. 365. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The history of which this is the final volume is too well known to need a new introduction to the reading public, and too well established in the public estimation to require new eulogies. There is a fascination in the pages of Merle D'Aubigné, which transcends that of romance as much as truth is superior to fiction. This volume is equal in interest and value to any that has preceded it in the series. The special fields which it traverses are Spain, with Charles V., Torquemada, the Inquisition, and the Spanish martyrs.

in the foreground; England, with Henry VIII., Cranmer and Latimer, Gardiner, Bonner, and Norfolk, the executioner's ax active, and the fires of Smithfield fiercely blazing; and Germany, with its multiplied strifes and local conflicts, the foul and furious excesses of Bokhold, Rottman, and Knipperdoling, who enacted Mormonism three centuries before Brigham Young. A description of the calm and peaceful death of Luther, at Eisleben, on the night of February 18, 1546, forms a fitting close to this, the final volume of the series that records the various fortunes and ultimate triumph of the great reform which he was the human instrument of inaugurating.

A General Index to the whole work fills ninety-four pages, and adds greatly to its value. One of the novelties of the present volume is a *fac-simile* of the famous Indulgence issued by Pope Leo X., the hawking of which by Tetzel precipitated the conflict between Luther and Rome. This document, whose fitting place would have been at the beginning rather than at the end of the history, comes in at this late hour, because no copy could be obtained till very recently, when one came into the possession of the British Museum, and was kindly loaned for the purpose. An examination of this Indulgence reveals the fact that among the sins too enormous for its powers, and for which it could promise no exemption from penal fires, is the *importation of alum into the States of the Church.* The secret of this exception was, that his Holiness the Pope owned certain alum manufactories at Tolfa, and found the monopoly very lucrative. Pardons could be bought by the ream for murderers, robbers, and perjurers, but not for dealers in foreign alum. Think of St. Peter, after he receives the keys, marking off as his own a corner of Gennesaret, and threatening to lock the gates of heaven against all who dare to fish in the prohibited waters.

Illustrated History of Ancient Literature, Oriental and Classical. By JOHN D. QUACKENBOS, A.M., M.D. Author of "Illustrated School History of the World." Accompanied with Engravings and colored Maps. 12mo., pp. 432. New York: Harper & Bro., 1878.

It is something like an originality to introduce into this little manual a concise and clear survey of the latest developments of ancient ethnology. The literature of the earliest races is the token of their earliest civilization, and hence the historian of their literature must trace the origins of and relations of the races themselves. Readers, therefore, who have not become posted in the morning twilight of the Aryan, the Semitic, the Assyrian, Egypin the foreground; England, with Henry VIII., Cranmer and Latimer, Gardiner, Bonner, and Norfolk, the executioner's ax active, and the fires of Smithfield fiercely blazing; and Germany, with its multiplied strifes and local conflicts, the foul and furious excesses of Bockhold, Rottmann, and Knipperdoling, who enacted Mormonism three centuries before Brigham Young. A description of the calm and peaceful death of Luther, at Eisleben, on the night of February 18, 1546, forms a fitting close to this, the final volume of the series that records the various fortunes and ultimate triumph of the great reform which he was the human instrument of inaugurating.

A General Index to the whole work fills ninety-four pages, and adds greatly to its value. One of the novelties of the present volume is a *fac-simile* of the famous Indulgence issued by Pope Leo X., the hawking of which by Tetzel precipitated the conflict between Luther and Rome. This document, whose fitting place would have been at the beginning rather than at the end of the history, comes in at this late hour, because no copy could be obtained till very recently, when one came into the possession of the British Museum, and was kindly loaned for the purpose. An examination of this Indulgence reveals the fact that among the sins too enormous for its powers, and for which it could promise no exemption from penal fires, is the *importation of alum into the States of the Church*. The secret of this exception was, that his Holiness the Pope owned certain alum manufactories at Tolfa, and found the monopoly very lucrative. Pardons could be bought by the venal for murderers, robbers, and perjurers, but not for dealers in foreign alum. Think of St. Peter, after he receives the keys, marking off as his own a corner of Tennessee, and threatening to lock the gates of heaven against all who dare to fish in the prohibited waters.

Illustrated History of Ancient Literature, Oriental and Classical. By John D. Quackenbos, A.M., M.D., Author of "Illustrated School History of the World." Accompanied with Engravings and colored Maps. 12mo., pp. 432. New York: Harper & Bro., 1878.

It is something like an originality to introduce into this little manual a concise and clear survey of the latest developments of ancient ethnology. The literature of the earliest races is the token of their earliest civilization, and hence the historian of their literature must trace the origins of and relations of the races themselves. Readers, therefore, who have not become posted in the morning twilight of the Aryan, the Semitic, the Assyrian, Egyptian, and Chinese races, will find in the first of the three parts of the book a very luminous, well illustrated and brief synopsis of the subjects.

In a comparative chronological table of the earliest literatures, our author places the Aryan Vedic hymns earlier than Abraham, and far earlier than the Pentateuch. And this is, doubtless, true, if Moses originated the Genesis history, both in form and substance. But we have long professed to coincide with those scholars who for the last fifty years, at least, have held Moses to have been rather the compiler than originator of the history previous to his own time. Whence came his genealogical record, but from the antediluvian age through his ancestral line of Shem? In that line Abraham comes from Assyria; and how else than through tradition from him did Moses obtain that clear "Hymn of the Creation," of which the Assyrian version is a crude metrical distortion? We hesitate not to believe, therefore, that the Shemite is the earliest of all extant human literatures.

The two other parts of the book give us Greek and Roman literatures. They, of course, go concisely over the routine histories according to the latest authorities. The maps and charts of the book are very admirable and convenient.

Benjamin DuPlan, Gentleman of Alais, Deputy General of the Reformed Church of France from 1725 to 1763. By D. BONNEFON, Pastor of the Reformed Church of Alais, Department of Gard. 12mo., pp. 370. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1878.

Another chronicle of the piety and constancy of the Protestant martyrs during the dark days when Rome was employing every measure that bigotry and hate could devise for the suppression of Scripture truth. The narrative of M. Bonnefon is of personal and local rather than of general interest; yet it deals in the genuine facts of the times of which it treats, and shows how, for many years preceding the French Revolution, the Romish priesthood of that country, by their arrogance and cruelty, were steadily revealing themselves more and more clearly, not only as the enemies of true religion, but as the worst oppressors of the people. It was not Voltaire and Diderot, with their learning and wit, but the priests, with their immorality, cruelty, and greed, that made France seem for a time infidel, or even atheistic.

Periodicals.

The American Antiquarian. A Quarterly Journal, devoted to Early American History, Ethnology, and Archæology. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET. Terms, $2 per year, in advance. Cleveland, O.: Brooks, Schinkel, & Co.

The noiseless rise of an archæological periodical near the center of our North America is a pleasant phenomenon. There is an abundance of material, and the periodical has plenty of very interesting work on its hands. It is an enterprise worthy of public attention and liberal support. In this number we have a full and valuable article on the American exhumed potteries; on the Northwestern traditions of "the Deluge;" on an ancient engraved stone in Ohio; on prehistoric ruins in Missouri; on the Klamath language of Oregon; and on the location of Indian tribes. The editor closes with an interesting series of notes and book reviews. From the latter we infer that his archæology does not include the doctrine of the plurality of human origins.

Mr. Peet is a lover and very much a master of his work. The facts he collects are very suggestive, and it were a misfortune if they were left unrecorded.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Idee eines Goldenen Zeitalters, (The Idea of a Golden Age.) Von Dr. E. PFLEIDERER. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1877.

A historico-philosophical attempt to take the bearings of the age, and determine what good reasons we have for looking for an essential ultimate renovation of the secular condition of humanity. The work is constructed by help of the tradition of a golden age; and it asks: Was that first golden age a sort of prophecy of what is finally to be realized as positive history? In a word, Is humanity making real *progress?* Before answering this question the author shows that we must first settle the sense of the term. For, evidently, "to progress" is something more than simple motion forward. A child, lost in a forest, may be continually going forward, and yet not make a step of progress. So a nation, or the race, may go through all sorts of revolutions and changes, may tear down and build up, may invent and discover a thousand new things, and yet not make the least real progress. *Progress implies an ideal goal.* To progress we must progress toward *something.* What possibility of progress, if pantheism is true? None at all. There can be only a monotonous vibration between evo-

lution and involution. The divine life pulsates out into reality, and then recedes back into itself, as the wave rolls back into the ocean. Nor can the fashionable school of pessimism talk of *pro*gress. Its progress is *re*gress. The owl cannot stand the sunlight, but hastens back to its cavern. Humanity is only getting worse and worse: life is really not worth living. None can logically speak of progress but idealists or supernaturalists. And such is the stand-point of Dr. Pfleiderer. Fixing before him an ideal of morality and well-being for the race and for the individual, he asks: "Are we drifting toward its realization?" The problem, as thus stated, gives him ample occasion for keen criticisms upon the thousand changes, improvements, discoveries, hobbies, chimeras, social or political reforms, real or pretended, which are now agitating the public mind. What movements are *over*done? and what *under*done? Are wars going to become much less frequent? How are the laboring classes to be relieved? Is the average length of life in enlightened countries much on the increase? How far will machinery yet lessen the necessity of toil? Will all nations ultimately become republican? What of the woman question? What of capital punishment? All of these problems Dr. Pfleiderer grapples with as a true philosopher. He is cool. He weighs the reasons on both sides. His collective verdict will satisfy neither the sardonic pessimist nor the hot-headed radical. It will satisfy only the man of sober sense. Is humanity progressing? Yes; but only slowly. Is humanity going to enter upon a new golden age? Yes; but only in the distant future, and after immense obstacles are removed. Do men commit fewer murders than formerly? Yes; but those that are committed are perpetrated with intenser wickedness. Can a nation, by majority vote, *legislate* social vices and evils out of existence? The more rational and Christian way is to guard against their external outbreak, and to aim at the instillation of sound ethical principles, but yet to suffer the tares and the wheat to grow side by side unto the harvest. What virtue is of highest value, and is most needed in this present age? *Patience,* and patient persistence in unselfish hard work. Such is the tone and drift of Dr. Pfleiderer's thoughtful and suggestive little work.

◆

Ursprung und erste Entwickelung der Kirche Christi. Von Dr. H. V. ANDREÆ. Frankfurt-am-Main. Heydor und Zimmer. 1876.

A commentary in the form of lectures on the book of Acts. It is an attempt to realize the whole historical and spiritual situation

during the genesis period of the organic Church. In tone the work is richly evangelical; in style, popular and attractive; in matter, conservative, but fresh and stimulating. We note a few points: The ascension of Christ did not signify that heaven is up beyond the blue clouds; it was, rather, a simple object lesson: it indicated to the disciples that their Master was now passed into the sphere of the supernatural, where he was no longer bound to the limits of time and space, but would henceforth be to his followers a spiritual omnipresence in all time and all space. The electing a successor to Judas was not an over-hasty blunder. But Peter was directly led to propose it by the impulse of the Spirit, under the study of the Scriptures. The election address of Peter was delivered to the apostles, together with the whole body of *male* believers, from which Dr. Andreæ makes a wholesale inference against the participation of women in Church government. The communism that existed momentarily, and for merely local reasons, differed totally from modern communism. *It* was absolutely unselfish, the latter is absolutely selfish. *It* said: "All mine is thine;" the latter says: "All thine is mine." The one is the spirit of love; the other is the spirit of hate. In regard to the mission of Philip at Samaria, the author says: "Philip hesitated not to baptize the people by masses, much as was done subsequently in the conversion of the Germanic tribes under Charlemagne. He baptized adults while as yet they had a mere incipient faith, and were unregenerated, hoping that they would obtain through communion with the Church that which they yet lacked." The offices of bishop, elder and deacon were but nebulously distinguished in the New Testament Church. Neither office had the least shadow of a "clerical" character. In the entire New Testament there is not a shadow of distinction between *clergy* and *laity*. The idea of a law of moral order in the universe is intuitive even in the lowest stage of human existence. It may be distorted in its application; it may represent the just Father as capricious or tyrannical; but it is *there*, and that, too, with sufficient clearness to superinduce responsibility, and to necessitate the generation of moral character.

Die Philosophie der Geschichte. (Philosophy of History.) Von Dr. R. Rocholl. Göttingen, 1878. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

A prize essay (pp. 411) on the Philosophy of History, "crowned" by the philosophical faculty of the University of Göttingen. It is an excellent book on the highest possible of themes. The name itself of Rocholl would promise much; but when a faculty con-

taining men like Lotze and Baumann stamps its approbation on a work, all doubt is banished at once. For theologians, especially, the theme is of intensest interest. The question examined is, In how far has uninspired human thought succeeded in constructing a rationally consistent and satisfactory conception of the universe as a whole? In other words, How far has humanity already progressed in its search after God? and how far is there good reason to expect that it may yet attain? Or, still otherwise put, Is the progress of science progress toward the knowledge of God? Some of the positions maintained are these: All truth is one. Nature and the intuitions and the Scriptures are, all *three*, revelations from the great Source of all. Natural law, intuition, Bible text, are parts of the same one truth. It is only ignorance that can be shy of the one and idolatrous of the other. Each of the three, logically followed out, lands us in God. Each of the three, fully developed, embraces the whole of the other two. All three move upon converging lines; ultimately they will meet and become identical. The three sciences to which they give birth differ from each other only because, and in so far as, they are as yet but partially complete. *Physics*, matured, will embrace a knowledge of mind and God; for nature springs of mind, and is governed by *the* mind. *Metaphysics*, matured, will embrace nature and God; for it inquires after the ultimate reason and facts of existences. *Theology*, matured, will include nature and philosophy; for its theme is God and the works of God. Thus these three are (or will be) one. And whosoever earnestly and honestly works in any one of the fields is a miner after the truth. And good work in either of the fields is holy and transfigured work. The collective drift of humanity is a drift toward God. We emerge from chaos, enter into the dawn, open our eyes for the rising sun, and mount up toward the noonday. The full philosophy of history is as yet far from written, for all truth is yet far from discovered. Dr. Rocholl sketches the progress already made, and indicates the road yet to be traversed.

◆

Geschichte der Inquisition. (History of the Inquisition.) Von F. HOFFMAN. Bonn: Neuffer. 1878.

An able account of the origin and acts of the Inquisition, based on authentic sources. The last score of years have brought to light not a few fresh chapters in this horrible story. The author takes advantage of all these, also calls in the help of the Döllinger Catholic party, and thus furnishes a more complete, as well as

more reliable, work than has as yet been accessible to the public. The author writes not as a champion of Protestantism, but as a simple historian of authenticated facts, and as a hater of cruelty and wrong. No doubt this will make his work all the more effectual in very large circles. Dr. Hoffman expresses the firm belief that only prudential motives hinder now, or ever can hinder, the Romish hierarchy from using the same violence against freedom of conscience as in the past. But is he not wrong when he implies that the Inquisition *spirit* is inseparable from every ecclesiastical hierarchy? and that spiritual power in the hands of ambitious prelates, Greek or Protestant, may and does as effectually kill off the *souls* of all opponents as did the Romish Inquisition kill their bodies? With these slight cautions, the book deserves a very wide patronage.

Wissenschaftliche Vorträge über religiöse Fragen. Frankfurt-am-Main: Diesterweg. 1877.

Three very valuable essays on "The Idea of God," "The Christ of History and of Faith," and "The Kingdom of God and the Church," by, respectively, Professor R. A. Lipsius, Dr. H. Schultz, and Professor K. Köhler. Professor Lipsius admits the logical difficulties of conceiving God as personal. But he shows that neither pantheism nor materialism furnish any relief. They satisfy neither head nor heart. And yet our theological demonstrations of the existence of God have no cogency for the unbeliever. The really solid ground for faith in God, in his opinion, is an imperative of our moral freedom; in other words, it is a psychological necessity. The best work is done by the theologian, not by attempting a direct proof that there *is* a God, but by demonstrating the scientific rationality of our *faith in* God. The other two essays are no less able than that of Dr. Lipsius.

Miscellaneous.

The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice. By ALFRED CAVE, B.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877. 8vo., pp. 524. Special Edition imported by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, New York. Price, $6.

The object of this able and scholarly work is to show that the death of Christ is literally *sacrificial*. It was *the* literal sacrifice, while all the sacrifices of the Old Testament were the symbolical. To show this he institutes a fundamental examination of the origin of sacrifices, tracing their history from the family of Adam, through

the patriarchal, into the fullness of the Mosaic dispensation. In this process he rejects all extra-biblical history and speculation, and reposes full faith in the sufficiency of the divine record for the complete development of the truth on this great topic. In going over the Old Testament ground the author gives very interesting critical reviews of the older investigators, as Spencer, and Outram, and the later Bähr, Kurtz, and Hengstenberg. From a full analysis of the sacrifices of the older dispensations he deduces the principles which ascertain the nature of the atonement. Theologians inclined to take the short intuitional cut to the "moral influence," or purely manward theory, of the atonement, as what necessarily must be, must acknowledge that the advocates of a sterner theory ground their views in a most thorough research into the foundations of the New Testament in the Old. In surveying the sacrifice of the New Testament our author reviews successively the atonement of the Gnostics, the Unitarians, the Church Fathers, of Anselm, Duns Scotus, Abelard, Grotius, and Limborch; and of the latest writers, Campbell, Bushnell, and Dale. He thence is led to discuss the various themes of the Eucharist, as the Romanist, the Lutheran, the Zuinglian, the Socinian, and the Calvinistic theory.

It seems to be rather clear that with thinkers of the present day who discard the strictly vicarious view of the atonement, the structure of the entire theology grows loose in the joints, and tends to tumble into a disorderly mass. Yet it is equally clear that the Christianity of the first three centuries contented itself with the purely biblical statements, without aspiring to push their analysis of the biblical formulæ to their ultimate. Mr. Cave makes it apparent that early post-apostolic Christianity was not well read in the Old Testament, and failed of the true view, probably from not tracing the truth to its primordial foundations.

The Ceramic Art. A Compendium of the History and Manufacture of Pottery and Porcelain. By Jennie J. Young. With 464 Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 499. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Even more than the art of printing, pottery is a wonderful symbol of human progress. Clay vessels were among the most obvious and most easily made among human utensils, and their imperishable material and fabric gave them a permanence. Hence in different countries of the world they turn up to the spade of the scientific excavator, and tell of long past "prehistoric ages." Then their growing beauty shows a growing civilization, and the sudden stop of improvement marks the era of race decline. This

historic value gives a dignity to the popular enthusiasm of the hour for "ceramics." The volume of Miss Young, with its graceful style, its elegant book-making, its rich and varied engravings, and its interesting histories and discussions, is, therefore, "a feature" of the times.

The Atlantic Islands, as Resorts of Health and Pleasure. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 274. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

It is a delightful pleasure tour to range with Mr. Benjamin through the "Islands." The scenes in picture so richly here presented are, perhaps, even more enjoyable than the same scenes in reality. From the summer isles of the South, the Bahamas, the Azores, we suddenly leap to the Isles of the British Channel. We visit in devious course Madeira, Teneriffe, Newfoundland, the Bermudas, and Belle-Isle-en-Mer. We predict that before many years George Island, on the coast of Florida, will be thought quite worthy the tourists' visit.

Baptisma; A Threefold Testimony: Water Baptism, Spirit-Baptism, and the Baptism of Fire. By Rev. JOHN LATHERN. 16mo., pp. 267. Halifax, N. S.: Rev. A. W. Nicolson.

The topic of baptism, and its mode and subject, is ever freshly springing up in new localities with every new year. Our Canadian author is posted up to the times, and handles his subject with keen point and logic.

The Holy Bible, according to the Authorized Version, (A.D. 1611.) With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter. *New Testament.* Vol. I. St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke. Royal 8vo., pp. 472. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

Science for the School and Family. Part I. Natural Philosophy. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M.D. 12mo., pp. 433. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Modern Dwellings in Town and Country. By H. HUDSON HOLLY. With one hundred original designs. 8vo., pp. 219. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Pointed Papers for the Christian Life. By THEODORE L. CUYLER. 12mo., pp. 363. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

Scientific Memoirs, Being Experimental Contributions to a Knowledge of Radiant Energy. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D. 8vo., pp. 473. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Contributions to Natural History, and Papers on Other Subjects. By JAMES SIMSON. 8vo., pp. 210. New York: James Miller. 1878.

Gates into the Psalm-Country. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. 12mo., pp. 315. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

John whom Jesus Loved. By JAMES CULROSS, A.M., D.D. 12mo, pp. 244. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1878.

Memoirs of John Howard, the Prisoner's Friend. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 235. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

Eventide at Bethel. By J. R. Macduff, D.D. 12mo., pp. 277. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The Great Slighted Fortune. By J. D. Bell. 12mo., pp. 452. New York: Published by T. Y. Crowell.

The Life and Times of John Knox. By Charles K. True, D.D. 16mo., pp. 357 Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

The Broken Walls of Jerusalem and the Rebuilding of Them. By the Author of "Wide, Wide World," "Old Helmet," etc. 16mo., pp. 313. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1879.

Little Lights Along Shore. By Paul Cobden. 16mo., pp. 326. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

Peace on Earth, etc. By James P. Simmons. Unbound. 16mo., pp. 231. Boston: A. Williams & Co.; Atalanta: Phillips & Crew. 1878.

Villages and Village Life. With Hints for their Improvement. By Nathaniel Hillyer Eggleston. 12mo., pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Oratory and Orators. By William Matthews, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 456. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

Shelley. By John Addington Symonds. 12mo., pp. 189. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Hygiene of the Brain and Nerves, and the Cure of Nervousness. By M. L. Holbrook, M.D. 12mo., pp. 279. New York: M. L. Holbrook & Co. 1878.

Young Folks' History of Germany. By Charlotte M. Yonge. 12mo, pp. 474. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

The Students' French Grammar. A Practical and Historical Grammar of the French Language. By Charles Heron Wall. 12mo., pp. 458. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

The Waverley Dictionary. By May Rogers. 12mo., pp. 357. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

The House by the Works. By Edward Garrett. Large 12mo., pp. 334. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co.

Macleod of Dare. By William Black. Large 12mo., pp. 406. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Harper's Half-Hour Series, 32mo. *English Literature Primers: Classical Period.* By Eugene Lawrence.—*Epochs of English History: The Settlement of the Constitution.* 1689–1784. By James Rowley, M.A.—*Epochs of English History: Modern England.* 1820–1874. By Oscar Browning, M.A.—*Stories from Virgil.* By Rev. Alfred J. Church, M.A.—*Some Recollections of Rufus Choate.* By Edwin P. Whipple.—*Hints to Women on the Care of Property.* By Alfred Walker.—*Daisy Miller.* By Henry James, Jun.—*Behind Blue Glasses.* By F. W. Hacklander. Translated by Mary A. Robinson.—*The Romance of a Back Street.* By F. W. Robinson.—*A Dark Inheritance.* By Mary Cecil Hay.—*A Hand-Book to the Practice of Pottery Painting.* By John C. L. Sparks.

Harper's Library of American Fiction: *The Virginians in Texas.* By William M. Baker.—*Cousin Polly's Gold Mine.* By Mrs. A. E. Porter.—*Like Unto Like.* By Sherwood Bonner. Unbound. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Franklin Square Library: *Time Shall Try.* By F. E. M. Notley.—*The Mistletoe Bough.* Edited by M. E. Braddon.—*The History of a Crime.* By Victor Hugo.—*Eilinor Dryden.* By Katharine S. Macquoid.—*Light and Shade.* By Charlotte G. O'Brien.—*Love's Crosses.* By F. E. M. Notley.—*Macleod of Dare.* By William Black.—*The Story of the Christians and Moors of Spain.* By Charlotte M. Yonge.—*Rare Pale Margaret.*—*The Life of the Right Honorable Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.*

Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By FRIEDRICH ADOLPH PHILIPPI. Translated by Rev. J. S. BANKS. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 421. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1878.

A Semi-Centennial Sermon, Historical, Biographical, and Itinerary. Delivered before the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, during its session at Piqua, Ohio, September 4, 1878. By Rev. WILLIAM HERR. Published by request of the Conference. 8vo., pp. 34. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern.

The Expositor. No. 48. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL COX. 1. Balaam's Ass, by Editor. 2. Ministry of Angels, by Rev. R. Winterbotham. 3. The Kind Master. 4. Studies in Life of Christ, by R. M. Fairbairn. 5. "As old as Methuselah," by Rev. R. Balcarnie. 6. Wind and Fire Ministers of God, by the Very Rev. Dean of Petersborough. 7. A Biblical Note, by Dr. James Morison. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Paternoster Row.

Shakespeare's Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Edited with Notes. By WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. 16mo., pp. 285. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Shakespeare's Comedy of Much Ado About Nothing. Edited, with Notes. By WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. 16mo., pp. 178. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

ART. XII.—D. D. WHEDON—BIOGRAPHIC.

THE Publishers, having decided to give the readers of the Quarterly a glimpse of their long-time editor, desire a note to accompany the engraving. Yet why a note? Certainly this is not a picture that will need an explanation as to who and what it means. Nor is he a man who needs a biography to describe who and what he is. He is known and read of all Methodists, of all readers of his Review, of all sharp, clear students in the realm of metaphysical dogmatics. He has not yet put off his mortality, and long may it be ere the inner life consumes the outer!

Still, a word may be desired by the reader as he looks at the elegant engraving, and such a word it is proposed should here be given:—

DANIEL DENISON WHEDON was born near Onondaga, N. Y., on the twentieth day of March, 1808. He graduated at Hamilton College when only twenty years of age. A great gulf is fixed between these two sentences; a greater gulf lies before the first. Of his ancestry, paternal and maternal, where bred and how, in New England, in Old England, or elsewhere—these essential factors in the estimation of a man of parts, that often are a preface to the name itself, are here omitted, partly because we have no space at command, if we had materials for their discussion, but chiefly because we are not writing an obituary or a biography, but simply notes to a portrait. He, quite likely, would dispose of the matter as summarily as in his Phi Beta Kappa oration some years since, by saying, "My family is as old as the Duke of Buckingham's,

only I have lost my pedigree." For a like reason all the interesting and important intermediary between birth and graduation are omitted. The youth of a student whose life has been devoted to the highest pursuits of literature and scholarship must be an interesting study, but it requires a chapter in a life, and cannot be crowded into a dozen lines in a Quarterly. After graduation he studied law, in full purpose of pursuing its practice as his life-work; but his conversion so powerfully changed the current of his thoughts and feelings that he at once abandoned the study, never, it is said, even entering the office again. He immediately united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in Rome, N. Y., where he was residing, and, after a brief period of waiting, found employment as Teacher of Ancient Languages in the Conference Seminary at Cazenovia. At the time of receiving his Master's degree, he was called back to his *Alma Mater* as a tutor, and, a year and a half later, when only twenty-four years old, elected to the Chair of Ancient Languages and Literature in Wesleyan University. No one of the eminent band that Wilbur Fisk called around him at the opening of his University better proved that the time had come when Methodism had grown scholars capable of handling a college, and, therefore, that the hour was ripe for the creation of a college for them to handle. Augustus W. Smith, John Johnston, and Daniel D. Whedon, three of Fisk's first collaborators, two of them graduates of Hamilton and one of Bowdoin, were severally called to the Chairs of Mathematics, Science, and Ancient Languages. Himself a graduate of Brown, he held the chief Chair of Philosophy. Surely never youthful college started forth with a more brilliant and capable faculty. They all became early eminent outside of their college, and retained the eminence to the last. Only one remains, and he has not been least in fame.

As a professor of Greek, to instruction in which he soon became exclusively devoted, he was very popular. We well recollect his sharp style, fearful to Freshmen, admired of Seniors; for that was a day when this grandest of languages was not confined to the two lower classes, as it is now by the system of electives, whereby every Junior and Senior, except a few strenuous students, carefully selects a series of studies that require no study, and whereby the strongest of all mental stimulants, mathematics, and the richest, the classics, are quietly avoided by both college curriculum and undergraduate selection. There is no "survival of the fittest" in the present American collegiate system. In those days the upper classes read Greek with an instructor who made them see and seize the beauty and the force of those undying masters of human thought and speech. Still, popular as he was in his department, though severely exacting, no higher pleasure could be given a class than, in the temporary arrangements of the Faculty, to have him assigned to the care of them in philosophy. Here, after all, was his most befitting sphere, and in it he shone pre-eminently. He taught his students to think and reason, and that with such force and felicity that reminiscences of it are common among those older classes to this day.

At the Commencement of 1842 he resigned his professorship, and in December following closed his relations with the college, with the purpose of entering the pastorate. As a preacher he had been a great favorite with the students; he was rich and rare; he *thought out* his sermons. "Caviare to the general," lacking or despising the sham gifts of mere manner and voice, the tricks of a pulpiteer, he shone in clearness, freshness, potency of thought, and richness of expression, that were unsurpassed and unequaled even by such mighty masters of the pulpit as Fisk and Olin. It was a treat to the hard-hearted, sharp-witted student when the tall, thin form of this master of logic, rhetoric, and sarcasm stood behind the little chapel desk. The same rare eloquence was fully appreciated in many a country church in the vicinity of the college, and the best congregations of our cities hung delighted on his lips. He entered with delight upon the duties of his new relation; yet he was probably more at home in the professor's chair than in the parsonage. After a couple of years thus employed, he accepted the Chair of Rhetoric, Logic, and History in the University of Michigan, and for seven years discharged its duties with great credit to himself and honor both to the institution and to the Church which he represented. Ann Arbor was, in these respects, but Middletown over again. But the times were troublous; and the popular professor, preacher, and lyceum lecturer, who had seventeen years before been roundly denounced as an apologist for slavery, was suddenly dismissed from his professorship by the State Board of Regents of the University for having dared, in public lectures in several places, but always outside of the college, to give utterance to a manly, Christian protest against the machinations of the slave power, whose devout and humble worshipers they were. He himself has furnished the key to any apparent contradiction in his course in relation to slavery. "For its *existence*," he said, "I did, and would, apologize; but never for its *extension*. I would deal gently with the hereditary sin of its being; but I abhor the stupendous volitional crime of its propagandism." He foresaw with a singular prescience, and predicted, the onward course of pro-slavery aggression; and for the crime of free speech on the great question which occupied all minds, he was ruthlessly struck down.

After the General Conference of 1852, of which he was a member, he soon finished his work at Ann Arbor, and, leaving behind him hosts of the warmest friends of his life, returned to his old home in the New York East Conference. It was soon evident from his studious habits, his purely college style, and, above all, his increasing deafness, that in the pastorate he was not in his sphere. He was perceptibly out of place. But the Church could not afford to spare from its service this man of wide learning and profound culture while yet in the early years of middle life.

At this hour his friends and old college students conceived the idea of placing him in charge of the Quarterly. They could not elect him *to* the General Conference of 1856, but they did elect him *in* that General Conference, against a most able and accomplished incumbent—not as a re-

flection on the editor that then was, for, though he was deservedly popular for his rare abilities, even his own friends, in some instances, gave their votes for the new nominee. He received the election, and has held the position almost without question for over twenty years.

As this office has opened the way to his real career—that of a writer—it is well to note a novel fact concerning those who secured his election to it. His first writings in the public press, or those, at least, that first drew attention to him, were of a controversial sort, and were on the opposite side from those which won him place and name. The antislavery conflict began properly in 1832 with the publication of the "Liberator." Ardent friends of that journal, of its editor, and cause, sprang up every-where, and nowhere were they more numerous or more ardent than among the Methodists of New England, though Mr. Garrison has never yet acknowledged publicly this obligation. His fine sense of honor should lead him to give this deserved recognition. They did more with him and for him and his cause than all his non-evangelical supporters. In Professor Whedon's own college were students who went out lecturing against slavery, and received the then common reward of mobs and abusive epithets, and sometimes the harder arguments of stones. One of them is the now and long well-known Dr. R. S. Rust. Dr. Fisk, in his genial temperament, disliked the strong though needful words of these abolitionists and their stronger acts. Professor Whedon fleshed his maiden sword in that controversy early in 1835, in a series of articles in "Zion's Herald," in reply to Orange Scott, then leader of the immediate abolitionists. He was also author of the famous "Counter Appeal," signed by Dr. Fisk and others, expressive of the sentiments of the conservative Methodists of New England of that day; a document much maligned, but never refuted, and whose main positions are assented to by the sober sense of the present time. George Thompson was then in this country as a "missionary," and the Professor took him to task for his interference in American politics. Thompson replied with some severity, and added a prayer for his conversion. The prayer was unanswered. But the twenty years that followed were years of rampant slavery aggression: it split the Church in twain; the free North was made the broad hunting-ground of the slave-catcher; and slavery was demanding, as its right, our vast territorial domain once solemnly consecrated to freedom. In the entirely new issues thus brought before them, Whedon and Rust were found standing side by side, and that student who had been sarcastically rebuked by his professor for his antislavery zeal, was one of the chief promoters of his election to the first editorial chair in the Church.

His career in that chair, and in lines of literary and religious work outside the chair, is before the Church and the world. He has made the Review the arena of free Christian thought, never insisting on a rigorous conformity to his own conceptions, though, when needful, uttering a word of caution or dissent. Beyond the contributors of the time of his election, he early began to search out and bring forward the young schol-

arly men of the Church, many of whom have since attained a wide and enviable reputation as writers, and he has thus done much toward the creation of a high literary republic in the denomination. But while contributors have written with brilliancy and power, the productions of his own pen have from the first possessed the most commanding interest. He never speaks to his large audience without something to say, and what he says is said so clearly that the most casual and unlearned reader knows, as well and as delightedly as does the thoughtful and scholarly, precisely what he means. No living writer is master of so trenchant and incisive a style. He penetrates the heart of the matter in hand with a word, and swiftly lays open its beauty and truth, or its deformity and falsity. His book notices, in which he is especially brilliant, frequently condense a volume into a page, or furnish, which pleases him best, a full review of the subject involved. In this department the Quarterly has deservedly attained the highest fame. His own papers have reinforced the theology and polity of the Church with new and most powerful weapons, as well as built them up and defended them against all assailants from whatever quarter; while sometimes stinging almost to madness those who merit castigation, or erecting "a white marble statue of words" for those who deserve fame, probing error to its last hiding-place, and dragging it forth scornfully to the gaze and contempt of his readers. That he is always wise, who can say? that he is never dull, none can doubt.

In 1864 he gave the world his treatise on "The Freedom of the Will as a Basis of Human Responsibility and a Divine Government"—the fruit of twenty-five years of study. He expected it to be the great work of his life. It will surely outlive Edwards's, for it is founded on the spiritual philosophy, and not on that of matter and fate. Its definitions are clear and its logic unanswerable. Difficult of reading, demanding severest study, it is a masterpiece to those who wish to think rightly on this deepest theme. When Calvinism shall cease to boast, and shall dare be philosophical, it will surrender unconditionally before this argument.

The "Commentary on the New Testament," the fifth and final volume of which is now near its completion, is from its nature more widely known than the work on the "Will," and on it his fame with the great body of the people will chiefly rest. It is not, perhaps, generally known that when it was undertaken, some twenty-five years since, it was intended by the Publishers to be simply a "Tract Testament," a single volume with brief notes. But when it was nearly completed, through the urgent solicitation of many well fitted to judge, the whole plan was changed, and the work begun anew. How this man of broken constitution and frail health should have been able, even with his indefatigable industry, to accomplish so much outside of his official duties, and do it so well, is truly a marvel. The same characteristics of style already noted in the Quarterly are abundantly apparent here. "Intended for popular use," as it is, it supplies the ordinary reader with what he needs in clear, compact diction, whose expressiveness he cannot fail to admire,

while the more learned reader is struck with the peculiar felicity and force with which grave problems are solved in a sentence, and difficulties settled at a stroke. The latter knows with what elaboration and care those clear interpretations are produced which, to the former, are so easy and intelligible. No writer has penetrated more deeply into the spirit of the fourth Gospel—the most wonderful of them all—or more beautifully developed the history of the early Church as found in the Acts. On the Epistles, the comment is finely blended with both argument and text at the same time; and it is pre-eminently rich in Romans and Ephesians, the metaphysical epistles. Without parade of scholarship, the most scholarly results are every-where visible; and not a few much-debated questions are solved in an original manner, as well as most conclusively. Indeed, the critical student often finds it clear and decisive on passages and topics where far more pretentious works are obscure or silent. The Commentary stands in the front rank in its department of literature; and some of its highest critical commendations are from across the water, where it appears in a London edition.

His features, as our readers can see, are after the metaphysical type. Were portraits of Calvin, Watson, Arminius, Edwards, and Whedon placed alongside of each other, their heads would all be found to have been built after the same law—narrow, long, high, a steep-roofed house, where the brains are crowded in and up, and are not spread out wide or pressed down low in front. The last are scientists, observers, (if pressed down low behind they are villains, but still scientists, of the most materialistic sort.) The wide heads are literary, high-finished, but not high-thoughted. These peaked brains are penetrative of the secretest on-goings of the mental world. When both broad and high, as in Shakspeare and Bacon, they are masters at once of both thought and expression. These high-roofed brains wrestle together "on *a hill* apart." Among these metaphysical theologians Dr. Whedon will hold very high rank. As he himself says of Agassiz: "He has made scratches on the granite of thought that will not be erased." He has given the highest debate on man, so far as his nature is concerned—a category that future students of these mysteries must respect and accept in its essential idea.

Of his other and literary work we have no space to speak. We presume the space alloted us by the publishers is more than full. The portrait of one whom the Church has long delighted to honor is given the readers of the work they have long delighted to read. They will rejoice to see him at last in his outward guise. May it be long ere that mortality puts on immortality!

METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1879.

Art. I.—WESLEY AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

[ARTICLE SECOND.]

It was shown in our last article that Wesley's scheme of philosophy had contributed no less than the other forces generated by him to the change of English thought from materialism to spiritualism. The state of English philosophy was, also, considered, when he began to preach and to teach—its slavish subjection to the hardest bound materialism under the successive rule of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume; and the like slavish subjection of the Church, both evangelical and ritual, to the same system in its theologic form. The utter prostration of all reformatory and progressive life followed in consequence of these fatalistic beliefs, and brought on "the dead waste and middle of the night" of English thought and action. Well does Dean Stanley call it a barren century. Its barrenness was confined largely to England, and was caused by materialism and fatalism there in school and Church. Not for centuries had England been as lethargic as under these morphitic doses of false philosophy and false theology.*

---

* Hutton portrays the terrible prostration of all soul force which Calvinism produces in these vigorous words, found in his essay on Hawthorne: "Calvinism, with all its noble features, can never keep its eyes off of that one fact, as it thinks it, of God's calm foreknowledge of a wide-spread damnation; and this gradually encroaches on the attention till the mind is utterly absorbed in the fascinating terror of the problem how to combine the clashing emotions of love and horror which its image of Him inspires."—Vol. ii, p. 45.

The question naturally recurs, How did Wesley, a metaphysician and logician of high rank, a popular student of the first College of Oxford, a popular Fellow and next to the rectorship of another college, get clear of these fetters, and gain the liberty which he has given to the world ?

His philosophic change began in the experience which made him an ardent and joyful Christian. This is in itself a transcendental influence, a light above the brightness of the sun, a glory and a mystery: God speaking to the soul and through the soul, and after the language and nature of the soul—not through sensations, nor outward impressions, nor through reflections, whose very name suggests a merely mirror-like character, and no original source and fountain of power. "The strange warmth" was an influence direct from God, without intervention of body or mind. The "visitation of the living God" is what the poet of this experience, in its philosophic mood, happily calls it. That was Wesley's visitation in that hour in Fetter Lane, when, after a night of struggling, this "Sun of Righteousness arose, with healing in his wings." No reader of the "Wrestling Jacob" can fail to see the outbreak of this glory from the highest heavens. It was the dawning of the new day in him and through him to a world sitting in darkness. It was the heavens descending into human hearts, the putting of new life into the race. To describe this feeling is as impossible as to describe any other emotion. Those that have it know it, and those that have it not, cannot know it. "The carnal mind cannot discern the things of the Spirit, for they are spiritually discerned."

But it may be said, Have not others attained this state who have not affected society in the line of spiritualizing philosophy? Yea, verily. And have not others sprung forth in English history professed possessors of this highest grace, and preachers of this highest experience? Hardly. There is something peculiar about the Wesley expression, as though a sunburst had shot upon his soul that never struck his predecessors' experience. Luther's joy in justification is less jubilant; Calvin's hold on the truth is without emotion; Augustine's passion of devotion is more profuse, but not as penetrative. Bunyan's "Pilgrim," had Wesley written it, would have been of a more joyful type. In fact, the Methodist warmth began immediately

to glow in song: such jubilant, almost hilarious song, that for the first time in the history of the Church, it would seem as if James' order was being verified, "Is any *merry?* Let him sing psalms." Luther was joyful and merry, but with a mirth that seemed to have often more of wassail than salvation. His famous distich expresses the key of his social life, and shows that the German people need Methodism to complete what his independency began. Never in all Wesleyanism could such a distich have found place, no, not for an hour. What would the Church and the world say if they should see hung up in saloons, beer-gardens, and drinking dens, Wesley with his pipe and pot of ale and bottle of wine or whisky, and underneath,

"Wer liebt nicht Weib und Wein und Sang,
Bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang."
"Who loves not wife and wine and song,
Stays a fool his whole life long."

That picture, and its utterly impossible counterpart, show the unmeasurable difference between the Lutheran and the Wesleyan revolt and reform. The one broke outward chains, the other, inward. The one was a justifying, the other a sanctifying, grace. The one was a happy earthly state, lapsing into frivolity and fleshliness; the other a beatific, rapt, heaven-dwelling fervor, which made its recipient exclaim, with a boldness that amazed angels,

"O would He more of heaven bestow,
And let the vessel break,
And let my ransomed spirit go
To grasp the God I seek!"

Fortunate it is for the Church that that powerful cry of ecstatic desire has replaced in the new Hymnal the tame "when," which its former revisers substituted for "let." Strange that "grasp" was not changed to "see," or some such tameness.

Luther never got much above his foe. He was a little more spiritual than Leo and Loyola, and but a little more. Germany through his influence has been held down in its ecclesiastical and social condition, and too often become earthly, sensual, and even devilish. Its present conflict is on the line with those that preceded it. It resists a carnal and material Christianity with carnal and material forces. Perhaps it may wrestle itself

into higher moods. But this is not probable. Such grace comes only of a higher generation. "The new celestial birth" that came upon Wesley in that wrestling hour must come upon the German people through the channels by which it descends to us, even Methodism applied to Fatherland. That is the touch to higher and holier issues which shall lift that strong people out of the slough of sensuousness in which they are now wallowing. As Wesley got his light through a German and mystic Church, the Moravian, so can he properly bestow it upon the German people.

It may be said that Wesley's "strange warmth" is akin to that of Thomas à Kempis, the inner light of the Quakers, and other such *illuminati;* that William Law was its author, and that it rose no higher than its origin. There is one great difference: Their inner light was a cold, dry light. It did not possess warmth. It was a vision, serene, spiritual, divine. But it was a *vision*. It was not a sun, filling the whole heavens with warmth. It was rather a moon, clear, cold, fruitless. Wesley's spiritual state necessitated activity. It was fruitful from the start. The sun was in the soil. It must burst forth in a great harvest of joyous testimonies and more joyous workings.

But this divine light and heat combined, which made the sun of this new system in Christ, was connected with another quality that brings it into the realm of acknowledged philosophy—the freedom of the human will. How John Wesley came to the acceptance of this principle not one of his biographers that we have seen has thought it worthy to declare. And yet this was hardly less influential in his relation to the philosophy of the times, present and to be, than that moment of experience when he felt the stirrings of the life divine in his renewed soul. This doctrine struck deep into consciousness, and at one leap abandoned all the low-bound, sensuous metaphysics of Locke and Hobbes, and abandoned them forever. There is nothing in common between a sensational philosophy and the freedom of the will. If the world without is the author of the world within, then freedom of the will is an absolute impossibility, for the will must be created by the objects of sense, and what they have made they must control. There is no real volitional freedom, possible or conceivable, in a sensational philosophy. There may

be an affirmed freedom, but none that is actual. Hobbes contended that he was a Christian, and perhaps he was, philosophically, as much as Edwards. Edwards had the "strange warmth," but he had no conscious liberty philosophically considered. His system was as hard bound as an iron stove that holds the fiery coals. It was incapable of diffusion. It repressed diffusion. Freedom has no place in his system. It is talked about, but it does not exist. Hence Edwards has never affected the Church spiritually. Most spiritual himself, his unspiritual system destroyed his power.

One can easily see from Locke's writings how little of freedom of choice there was in his theory of the will. He says concerning the question whether man's will be free or no: "It is as insignificant to ask whether man's will be free as to ask whether his sleep be swift or his virtue square, liberty being as little applicable to the will as swiftness of motion is to sleep or squareness to virtue." The editor of his life and works declares that this view agrees with that of Hobbes, who writes against Bishop Bramhall as follows: "In the following of one's hopes and fears consisteth the nature of election; so that a man may both choose this, and cannot but choose this, and, consequently, choosing and necessity go together."* Thus Locke and Hobbes and Edwards are one.

Here, too, Whitefield failed. He is said to have lacked organizing force. He lacked philosophy. He preached with wonderful fervor, but he did not affect the reason. He caught many of Wesley's ideas and developed them; but he ruined all by his morbid Calvinism. How could he preach a free salvation to those whom he believed, according to his dreadful creed, were foreordained from all eternity to damnation or salvation, irrespective of their choice or even desire? It was a burden grievous to be borne by such a minister.

John Wesley may have gotten this center of his theologic or doctrinal system from his intuitions, whence Mr. Isaac Taylor suggests he drew most of his power. If so, his higher reason stood him in good stead. He may have gotten it from Henry More, from William Law, from Boehler and the Moravians; he never got it from Locke or the ruling philosophy. In fact, it has no being in their creed. Mr. Lewes does not find it

---

* Quoted in "Life and Writings of Locke," vol. ii, pp. 119, 120.

necessary to express the views of these philosophers on this theme, and yet it is the *fons et origo* of all spiritual philosophy. *Cogito, ergo sum*, is Descartes' affirmation of personal existence. This is the source of real philosophy. It can never be found in an empirical, sensational scheme. "*I* think, therefore *I am*," is down deep below all outward surface facts, independent of them, perhaps opposed to them. *I* think, is the grand egoism that is the *primum mobile*, the seed-vital, from which all consciousness, all responsibility, all morality, all humanity, arise. Without this I-ism none of these could *be*, much less grow.

Wherever Wesley may have got this central principle of spiritual, as opposed to material, philosophy, one thing is certain, it grew rapidly in his mind, and became the center of his whole system of faith and philosophy. The absolute freedom of the will was his complete cleaving of all Calvinian knots. They can never survive that descending blade. Such freedom makes man the arbiter of his fate, and not God. It makes religion as simple as eating and drinking, as seeing and hearing. We are not compelled by instinct to eat distasteful food, nor to see disagreeable objects. We are not compelled to be good or holy, or sinful and hateful. Freedom is something more than a name; it is a reality. It is a necessity that it be unnecessitated.

This liberty relieves God. He does not have to father a gigantic brood of shames and crimes. It is impossible on the system of fatalism to avoid making God the author of sin. The machinist who invented Frankenstein was responsible for the horrors of its nature and deeds. How much more God, if he be a machinist who creates every creature, and ordains them to a certain course of conduct. We hardly know the awful nightmare which rested on the human soul under the reign of Edwards and Calvin. As soon as persecution ceased, the horrors of fatalism crushed and crazed many a soul. No wonder it was thrown off as soon as the true light appeared, and the victims of the horrible strangulation were able to catch their breath and get into the life of nature and of God.

Wesley saw that this principle was the key of his system, and he clung to it with unyielding tenacity. Around it he made his whole theology to revolve. If absolutely, honestly, unconditional-

ally free, then must God treat every one after this perfect law of liberty. There must be no discrimination in his arrangements for the salvation of man, nor in his application of these arrangements. The atonement must be universal, otherwise there is partiality, and freedom of the will is a lie; for universal, personal freedom of reception or rejection of this grace cannot exist if this atonement is not prepared for every one. An entertainment cannot be opened to every body equally, if some are not endowed with appetites adapted to the feast. It is a mockery to say to a blind person, "Light is made for every eye." He will well retort, "Why is not every eye made for the light?" A perfect system requires perfect equality in eye and light.

The atonement, if limited, makes liberty of choice of none effect. Why say, "I can have religion," when religion has not been gotten up for me, or really offered to me? To deal squarely, the preparations for salvation must include every soul, and every soul must feel that it has power to freely accept or reject these royal bounties.

But universal atonement must be attended by universal influence. The Holy Ghost must be no respecter of persons. He must not go into the market-place of mankind and select certain favored ones to be influenced unto regeneration, and only partially and powerlessly, or not at all, affect the rest. That is the worst conceivable caste that the wit of man or devil ever devised. No man nor devil ever approached in subtilty of aristocracy such distinctions; for no man nor devil had such gifts in his grasp. It was immortal life, all heaven and for all eternity, he was to thus eclectically parcel out. Not a bit of England for a century, nor a throne in Europe for a dynasty, but all Paradise and forever. Nay, not only was this electing God to thus make a Doomsday-book for the chosen ones—not chosen, as were those of the Conqueror, for their valor and services, but of his good pleasure alone—but he was equally active in reprobating the rest, and that a great multitude, to an endless hell of fire and blackness, and that for no good or evil which they had done, or might or could do. Surely, the fatalism of Hobbes and Calvin, of Locke and Edwards, could not find a more horrid consummation, could not utter a more Satanic blasphemy. One can almost pardon Ingersoll his loud-mouthed

profanities when he learns that his youthful soul was fed upon such diabolic theology. To break that yoke, and let its oppressed go free, was the highest deed and duty of John Wesley —was the magnificent result of his experimental assurance of faith and his spiritual philosophy of the reason.

Against this absurdity of abominations he brought forth the truth conveyed in man's absolute freedom of the will, which is no freedom if the Creator affects some volitions at the start more potentially for holiness and heaven than others. He must be impartial, or the heavens fall into hell.

Thus Wesley was led by this philosophic principle to the Christian and Bible doctrines of universal atonement and universal call of the Spirit. No two Scripture truths have more powerfully affected modern society. How it broke suddenly from its ice-bound state!

"O for a trumpet voice,
On *all* the world to call!"

was its ringing cry, repeated as multitudinously as the notes of a bugle reveille. Charles Wesley dares the enemy with many a taunt and shout of defiance. How these words, and thousands like them, rang through England and New England, fast bound in the slavish chains of Locke and Edwards; through New York, crushed under the mountain of the Dutch Synod of Dort; and New Jersey, imprisoned in that iron mask of the Westminster Confession.

"Lord, I believe were sinners more
Than sands upon the ocean shore,
Thou hast for all a ransom paid—
For all a full atonement made."

How these notes sprang, and flew, and echoed round the world! They are not merely theological utterances. They are in their deepest meaning and force philosophical. They involve the new departure in the schools as well as the Church. They are most of God, most of man. Every provision is made; every body is invited; you all are free to come; you are responsible if you do not. Human nature is opened to the divine.

Hence sprang the joyous experience. Every bounding heart felt the mighty comfort. It was personal, individual, mutual between God and the soul. It was exultant. The strange

warmth, and the strange liberty, and the strange joy, all came together. They burst forth into song, speech, story, shout, even to the momentary slaying of the body under the exaltation of the soul. They ran, like swiftest lightnings, over land and sea, from continent to continent, from heart to heart, from generation to generation.

How did this affect philosophy? Philosophy did not presume to know of its existence. The people by scores of thousands flowed like gigantic rivers to their preaching places; hymns and songs grew and were multiplied, till every humble and haughty home was filled with their strange melody. Organizations, sermons, pamphlets, books, every sort of intellectual life, burst forth wherever the waters went. Churches sprang up over all the earth, traced directly to this source; and colleges, and periodicals, weekly, monthly and quarterly, publishing houses, and libraries. The whole lump was being leavened.*

But what cares philosophy? Is she disturbed in her meditations? Can she leave the abstract and the analytic, where it is said the highest qualities only appear, and condescend to note the noisy intruder? Let us see.

Hume was the pupil of Locke, and began his philosophic career about the same time Wesley began his theologic. A jump of half a century brings us from Hume to Jeremy Bentham, his child in materialism, infidelity, and fatalism. Bentham was born in 1749, Hume did not die till 1776. So they were contemporary for nearly thirty years. Buckle succeeds Bentham, who reduces every moral sentiment to laws of calculation; and Mill follows Buckle, who abolishes even the family tie in the grinding mills of his sensational materialism. And Lewes writes up a history of these heresiarchs, among whom not a spiritualist finds mention, and confesses, as his conclusion of the whole philosophic matter, that "skepticism, gulf-like, yawns as the terminal road of all consistent metaphysics," which is true of his sort, as Tyndall, Spencer, Huxley, Fiske, and such pure materialists and skeptics, confess to this day.

But is this all of English philosophy? Has Henry More,

---

* See Green's "History of the English People" for proof of this immense influence. Leckey also confirms it.

like Abel, no successor? Is there none to arise who shall defend the spirituality of man, and show the charmingness of divine philosophy? There could be none under a Calvinistic system. "Skepticism, gulf-like, yawns as the terminal road" of all such theology. Never has it, never can it produce a spiritual philosophy. Hamilton has limited God by remanding him to realms beyond our cognizance, so that even Mill, out of his blocks of earth, was able to build a tower of argumentation high enough to over-top Hamilton's half-atheistic conclusions. Mansell, Hamilton's pupil, is more fatalistic than his master. Hume was the child of Augustinian theology, and Hobbes—and legitimate children, too.

Whence shall come relief? Strange enough to haughty eyes, natural enough to humble eyes, this counterpart appears in the influences and atmospheres generated by Wesley. His affirmation of the absolute, unconditioned liberty of every man breaks forth within and without. Within, in schools of thought, philosophic and spiritual, clinging to the personal *ego* as the center of philosophic speculation. Without, in every scheme conceivable for the amelioration or betterizing of that *ego*.*

The first man who undertook to put this into philosophic form was S. T. Coleridge, and it was of him that the words quoted in our last paper as to Wesley's spiritual revolution were placed as a preamble. He gave this Methodistic, this Wesleyan principle philosophic form and expression. He was in contact with minds that had been affecting England for two thirds of a century. He looked within the veil, discerned the absolute in man as a creature of God, and proclaimed it as a law of philosophy. He made firm as a truth of metaphysics that which Taylor sneers at Wesley for having in immense degree—intuitions. He was the father of modern intuitive philosophy. He called it by a grander name, perhaps, the reason, in imitation of Kant's Pure Reason, but herein he copied exactly

---

* Says Sir James Stephens: "The noblest result of the religious revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation, of the profligate and the poor. It supported Burke in his plea for the Hindu. . . . The passionate impulse with human sympathy, with the wronged and afflicted, raised hospitals," etc.

Taylor's critique on Wesley: "He *reasoned* more than he thought."

He was world-wide in his opposition to the utilitarian theory, and put this system of transcendent, interior, egoistic metaphysics on a permanent basis in the English mind. Though, as one has said, the practical mind of this people inclines it to the outward and material, and so gives a certain solidity of power to even such monstrosities as Darwin, because they seem to be solid and visible monstrosities; yet over against these is set, as an ever-working, ever-potent influence, the spiritual, immaterial, immortal forces of the soul, of which Coleridge is the greatest English philosophic expounder.

It may be said he owed his thinking to Kant, who owed his to Spinoza, who owed his to Descartes. But none of these had footing in English thought, nor could have had but for an English interpreter, and that interpreter was influenced from Clapham, which was the child of Wesley. Wilberforce in faith, Granville Sharpe in works, with Macaulay, Clarkson, and others, got hold of the young Coleridge, fed his fancies, but, also, built up his philosophic mind, and from that atmosphere came forth the Platonist of this century, perhaps of many.

His biography gives some traces that go far to show how powerful was this new atmosphere about this new-comer. He was educated near Wesley's school in London. His first prize in college was for an essay in Greek against slavery. Every collegian will understand that no student advocates an unpopular reform unless his soul is imbued with its influence. Coleridge was a reformer before he was a philosopher. His reform gave birth to his philosophy. He was an enthusiast for the French Revolution, when, as Wordsworth, of like ardor, says:—

> "Bliss was it at that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven."

He sought, with Southey, to get up a Pantisocracy on the banks of the Susquehanna, a model State, perfect in reform. These strivings of the youthful giant show what impression the Clapham sect had produced upon his plastic mind.

But this tendency to reform took on it, also, in his mind, Taylor's critique on Wesley: "He reasoned more than he thought."

He was world-wide in his opposition to the sensational theory, and put this system of transcendent, interior, spiritual metaphysics on a permanent basis in the English mind. Though, as one has said, the practical mind of this people inclines it to the outward and material, and so gives a certain solidity of power to even such monstrosities as Darwin, because they seem to be solid and visible monstrosities; yet over against them is set, as an ever-working, ever-potent influence, the spiritual, immaterial, immortal forces of the soul, of which Coleridge is the greatest English philosophic expounder.

It may be said he owed his thinking to Kant, who owed his to Spinoza, who owed his to Descartes. But none of these had footing in English thought, nor could have had but for an English interpreter, and that interpreter was influenced from Clapham, which was the child of Wesley. Wilberforce in faith, Granville Sharpe in works, with Macaulay, Clarkson, and others, got hold of the young Coleridge, fed his fancies, but, also, built up his philosophic mind, and from that atmosphere came forth the Platonist of this century, perhaps of many.

His biography gives some traces that go far to show how powerful was this new atmosphere about this new-comer. He was educated near Wesley's school in London. His first prize in college was for an essay in Greek against slavery. Every collegian will understand that no student advocates an unpopular reform unless his soul is imbued with its influence. Coleridge was a reformer before he was a philosopher. His reform gave birth to his philosophy. He was an enthusiast for the French Revolution, when, as Wordsworth, of like order, says:—

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven."

He sought, with Southey, to get up a Pantisocracy on the banks of the Susquehanna, a model State, perfect in reform. These strivings of the youthful giant show what impression the Clapham sect had produced upon his plastic mind.

But this tendency to reform took on it, also, in his mind, the shape of philosophy. Kant had just appeared in Germany, and German was received as an English study by Coleridge, who was drawn to philosophical pursuits by the bent of his nature, and drawn to high ideas as to the divine in man by the associations and influences that made him so early in his career an abolitionist and a reformer. This high appeal of the German recluse against the materializing dogmas of England and France, this new light from the old heavens, affected and controlled the spirit of Coleridge. He broke at once and forever from all the outer schools of philosophy, and became the pupil and interpreter of intuitional truths to a people who had been "fast bound in sense," but whom Wesley had already emancipated. Kant had not thus inspired him had he not been made ready for it by the spiritual influences that had been pervading English society for more than half a century. Since 1739 the soul of that society had seen and felt the new light. Wesley had been welcomed back to Oxford by crowds of reverent and listening youth. Courts and palaces had felt the inspiration. Its philosophic recipient and exponent naturally appeared. Kant kindled the pile prepared and ready for illumination.*

But Coleridge was not alone. As Wesley had his singer, so had Coleridge his; and as Wesley could write almost as well as his associate—some thought better—so Coleridge was esteemed by many as above his companion. But as John Wesley confined himself largely to other lines, while his co-ordinate built up his sacred songs steadily, marvelously, into a book of prayer and praise, so Coleridge's broken hymns and occasional won-

---

* It will be seen by the following that Coleridge was not altogether a pupil of Kant, but of the English and Methodist spirit: "Some who are deep in human lore tell us that Europe has produced but one power really counteractive of the tyranny of mere understanding, and that is, the philosophy which began with Kant and ended with Hegel. Nevertheless, at the turn of the century there did arise men nearer home who felt the defect of the preceding age, and did much to supply it: who strove to base philosophy on principles of universal reason, and who, into thought and sentiment dwarfed and starved, poured the inspiration of soul and spirit. The men who mainly did this in England were Coleridge and Wordsworth. They are the native champions of spiritual truth against mechanical philosophy."—*Shairp's Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, p. 93. As these "men" were "champions" before they were Kantians, which Wordsworth never was, it shows that they drew their first influence from home fountains; that is, from Methodism; that is, from Wesley.

der-bursts of song were dropped for long essays on spiritual philosophy, while his co-ordinate built up steadily the philosophic song. And, lastly, as we can learn the Wesleyan theologic system more easily, fully, and forcibly in the hymns of Charles than in the sermons of John, so we can see the scope and force of the Coleridgean ideas more completely in the poems of his counterpart than in his own essays.

Wordsworth and Coleridge are more closely united than any two other names in English literature, and especially than any two names of like merit. They are a double sun, and a sun of superior glory and increasing splendor. They are the active champions of spiritual truth against mechanical philosophy. Wordsworth was the philosophic poet. He saw, he spoke. He is the steady antagonist of all materialism. No poet was ever so spiritual. He spiritualized nature. "There's a spirit in the woods." He spiritualized humanity. He felt

> "A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

Every commentator realizes this. Stopford Brooke, in his "Theology of the British Poets," elucidates it with much novelty and force. Hutton affirms it. Nobody can fail to see it. As Shakspeare is the seer of the every-day man, drawing with wonderful accuracy and power the best motives and the worst of the man of this world, so Wordsworth stands alone among literary men in the gift of seeing every thing, and every event, and every creature, in the realm of pure spirit. Says Hutton: "He catches up his theme into his high spiritual imagination, and makes it yield a totally different fruit of contemplation to any which it seemed naturally likely to bear."

This quality of spirit, which makes him the inevitable and unceasing antagonist of matter, as such, was, also, combined with freedom of the will. Says Mr. Hutton :—

> The poet must live alone in order to consciously bathe all that he touches with a new atmosphere, not its own. We are most alive when we most distinctly feel the boundary-line between ourselves and the world beyond us. In acts of free will the sense of human solitude is always at its height; for in them we distinguish *ourselves* from all things else. And in the world of imagination

this spiritual freedom is especially remarkable. *There* one has always heard that freedom is not, that genius is undisputed matter of the will. Wordsworth's poetry is the living refutation of this assertion. He is so solitary because his spirit consciously directs his imagination, and imposes on it from within influences stronger than any it receives from without.

"The outward shows of sky and earth,
Of hill and valley, he has viewed,
But impulses of deeper birth
Have come to him from solitude." *

This quality of spirituality and freedom of spirit, dominating all things, but dominated by itself, is the very soul of the Wesleyan movement, viewed in the light of philosophy. Put God, the Holy Spirit, here, and you have the whole of Wesleyanism. Every thing filled with the Holy Ghost; every thing looked at from the heights of holiness; the whole world food for this appetite; rhapsody, experience, perfection, all in spirit, but spirit free.

Wordsworth, too, resembled Wesley in that plodding conformity to outward law. "Stern Duty" he commends in some of the finest lines ever penned by man. Each was most methodical. Each was humdrum of humdrum to pure ecstatics. Wordsworth's poetry was "buckled with the belt of rule." It was sturdy and prosaic, even as Wesley organized conferences, classes, collections, in a word, arrangements for bottling and preserving these high wines of the soul. Wordsworth's verse and Wesley's Discipline were the thick, dull-looking bottles that were necessary to contain these fine and fiery spirits. Hutton says, "Wordsworth was like Wesley in highest spiritual ecstasy and homeliest practical duties. 'True to the kindred points of heaven and home.'" †

We need not follow this stream to its mouth and to its ocean. We can see this ocean from this height. Wordsworth and Coleridge are the poetic and philosophic fathers of modern spiritual thought. They are the sternest foes of Stuart Mill and all his fleshly school. Every modern writer of the anti-utilitarian school is their pupil. Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin, Thackeray, are all sons of these sires. They put soul above sense, the free spirit above its enslaved body. Shairp is their child, though of Scotch origin and culture, and his essays are

---

* Hutton's Essays, vol. ii, p. 108.

† Hutton on Hawthorne, p. 415.

their ablest exponent and defense. Even the fires of Carlyle's genius are fitly fed from these urns. Arnold, father and son, and Stanley are partly spiritual and partly of grosser mold, and as partly of Wesley and partly of Locke. Emerson draws his spirit-life hence, but his lack of faith makes him in conflict with himself. He is thus driven by his disbelief to associate with such anti-spiritualists as Thoreau and grosser souls, when his transcendental and deepest nature receives all its strength from their high and real fountains. Had he been a Christian, he would have been the most spiritual and Methodist of thinkers. Over-soul was his craving; but true over-soul cannot exist long out of the atmosphere of faith.

Thus this chief of American idealists owes his gifts, or culture of them, to John Wesley, who, first of Englishmen, resisted Locke, first proclaimed the independence of spirit from matter, became the head of a counter revolution, and gave the English-speaking peoples an atmosphere and a soil whence spring and grow all the sweetness and light of modern English literature and philosophy.

One thing more: If the materialism which prevails to-day is to be subdued at all, it is to be done by the forces brought into action by Methodism. That it is not entirely subdued is painfully evident. It stalks into high places of thought, and gives itself "airs e'en in devotion." It enters the pulpit and the cathedra of instruction. It claims to sit in judgment on the Bible and Christianity. It evolves creeds and dogmas, and even asserts its dominion over faith. Greg professes to solve doubt by greater doubt; Lewes gives us a book of mathematical divinity which not only evolves but eliminates Christianity; and Fiske, in bulky volumes, tells us exactly how easily faith and Christ and salvation and heaven roll forth from the ever-weaving web of materialistic organism. Huxley goes so far as to call his most material of lectures lay sermons, stealing the very arms of the livery of heaven in which to serve that most material of beings, the Prince of the power of the air.

How shall we conquer this sacrilegious host, this body of unbelievers, who are not so much professors of science, falsely called, as of religion, falsely so called? By setting spirituality over against their materiality; by putting Wesley's "intuitions," his "energy of the intuitive reason," his "galvanic their ablest exponent and defense. Even the fires of Carlyle's genius are fitly fed from these urns. Arnold, father and son, and Stanley are partly spiritual and partly of grosser mold, and are partly of Wesley and partly of Locke. Emerson draws his spirit-life hence, but his lack of faith makes him in conflict with himself. He is thus driven by his disbelief to associate with such anti-spiritualists as Thoreau and grosser souls, when his transcendental and deepest nature receives all its strength from their high and real fountains. Had he been a Christian, he would have been the most spiritual and Methodist of thinkers. Over-soul was his craving; but true over-soul cannot exist long out of the atmosphere of faith.

Thus this chief of American idealists owes his gifts, or the best of them, to John Wesley, who, first of Englishmen, resisted Locke, first proclaimed the independence of spirit from matter, became the head of a counter revolution, and gave the English-speaking peoples an atmosphere and a soil whence spring and grow all the sweetness and light of modern English literature and philosophy.

One thing more: If the materialism which prevails to-day is to be subdued at all, it is to be done by the forces brought into action by Methodism. That it is not entirely subdued is painfully evident. It stalks into high places of thought, and gives itself "airs e'en in devotion." It enters the pulpit and the cathedra of instruction. It claims to sit in judgment on the Bible and Christianity. It evolves creeds and dogmas, and even asserts its dominion over faith. Greg professes to solve doubt by greater doubt; Lewes gives us a book of mathematical divinity which not only evolves but eliminates Christianity; and Fiske, in bulky volumes, tells us exactly how easily faith and Christ and salvation and heaven roll forth from the ever-whirling web of materialistic organism. Huxley goes so far as to call his most material of lectures lay sermons, stealing the very robes of the livery of heaven in which to serve that most material of beings, the Prince of the power of the air.

How shall we conquer this earth-given host, this body of unbelievers, who are not so much professors of science, falsely so called, as of religion, falsely so called? By setting spirituality over against their materiality; by putting Wesley's "intuitions," his "energy of the intuitive reason," his "galvanic instantaneousness of the intuitions," against their mob of materialized sensations. That "irresistible force," as Taylor calls it, can alone overcome this material and most powerful force. It is of God the Holy Ghost. He and He only can conquer this spirit of evil, who bewilders our minds with his materialistic powers; who sometimes in the lower manifestations chooses to call himself spiritualist, but who assumes this disguise of words only the more easily to dupe his disciples with their physical propensions; who makes these persons in their low estate perform gymnastic tricks with shadowy hands and tipping tables and other gimcrackery of matter, and still fool themselves with the fancy that the manifestations are spiritual. From such spriitualisms, good Lord, deliver us! The devil laughs at their trickery. His higher worshipers, also, mock at them. The high-priests of his temple never delude themselves or their disciples with such folly. They are consistent. Be it Tyndall or Huxley, Fiske or Draper, Spencer or Buckle, Hume or Hobbes, Mill or Bentham, they are all ready to affirm with their first and still greatest master, "Every thought of man is a representative or appearance of some quality without us."

What shall overcome them? Faith and free-will; God and your own consciousness of God; God in Christ and your will in Christ. Fight not carnal weapons with carnal, or you will be spoiled of all your powers; fight carnal with spiritual. You can never answer these foes on their own ground. You can only answer them from your ground. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." "Ye have an unction from the holy One, and know *all* things." They are masters of the lower sphere. Some younglings in theology, not always younglings in years, fancy they can answer them from their own stand-point; that they can take evolution and make it serve Christ the Lord; that they can concede blurs, blunders, misconceptions, ignorance, every thing weak and false in the Word of God, and still hold on to the Bible; that they can accept protoplasm and the first chapter of Genesis. Vain effort. You are their prisoner, their slave, the moment you enter their circle. Faith, spirit, unseen forces, conquer them, and they only. "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God; so that things which are seen

were not made of things which do appear." That is the war cry, that the war weapon. By it conquer.

Thus, too, we see how every revival is an utterly insoluble problem to a materialist. Wesley is the father, under God, of these mightiest of miracles. What know Spencer & Co. of Moody and Sankey? What knows the most astute of them of the least act by which the soul is changed from nature to grace, from the power of sin and Satan unto God? They cannot understand this mode of spiritual life. Until they are transformed by its power they never can. It is the highest reason in its highest act. It is the soul of man in conjunction, deepest and most vital, with God, the Soul of souls. It is the fountain-head of all philosophy, the source of Platonism, of Descartism, of Coleridgism, of the best and truest in Emersonianism. All these are lower branches of that lofty experience which cries out in more than Coleridgean, Wordsworthian, or Socratean power:—

"What we have felt and seen
With confidence we tell;
And publish to the sons of men
The signs infallible.

"Exults our rising soul,
Disburdened of her load,
And swells unutterably full
Of glory and of God!"

Thus descends the mighty river of grace upon all the thought of the world; from God out of heaven, upon its highest philosophies, upon its deepest necessities, upon its poetry and dogma, upon its politics and philanthropies, upon its business and homes, upon education and invention, upon literature and art, upon colonization and civilization, upon all and every the thoughts, sentiments and deeds of mankind.

See Leckey confessing this marvelous life in the philanthropies, creed, and politics of England and the world. John Wesley, he declares, after much false and foolish belittling, "has had a wider constructive influence in the sphere of practical religion than any man who has appeared since the sixteenth century." He might have said since the sixth, and in theoretical religion, and all else beside.

The realm of philosophy, to which Wesley has given the last

and best law, still struggles against his mastery. Its prominent representatives are to-day too often of the school of Hobbes rather than of More, of Bentham than of Coleridge. But if Methodism is faithful in preaching its founder's truths of "divine realities;" if it still continue to lead "the great spiritual counter movement" which he inaugurated, it will certainly bring down those high heads, as it has leveled all inferior towers. If Brougham brings parliamentary reform; Sharpe, and Clarkson, and Garrison, (who was Wesley's pupil, though he confess it not,) abolitionism; Neal Dow, prohibition; Cary, the missionary movement; Cowper and Wordsworth, and all their followers of to-day, the poetic power, and lay them all at this apostle's feet; if all these, as well as many other masters of men and ideas for the last hundred and fifty years, accept, as they must, John Wesley as their master, then, too, will the scientist, last of rebellious thinkers, because most materialistic, immersed in the matter which he seeks to know, "subdued to that he works in, like a dyer's hand," and his co-ordinate, the materialistic philosopher, also make like acknowledgment, break their wands of mere naturism, and accept the sovereignty of soul in man, of God in nature. Thus shall Plato and John become one in the Spirit and in every believer. Thus shall all thought accept with gratitude the service wrought out for it by this Oxford scholar and tutor, who, when his seat of philosophy brought him into bondage to the sensational school of thought, left it, to find the true light and the true heat in humble faith in the divine Saviour. And when he had thus found this pearl of infinite price, he sold all that he had, and for joy went preaching and teaching every-where the central truths of Christianity and philosophy, until all the world has heard, and much of it has obeyed. So shall it be preached and taught till all the world shall receive of its fullness, grace for grace, and truth for truth, to the uplifting of all thought to its true position and power in Christ Jesus our Lord.

We have thus endeavored to show the relation of modern intellectual activity to John Wesley. That literature which concerns itself with religion and reform can be traced clearly and directly, on the best authorities, to this fountain head. All confess that religion was revived through this instrument. The highest names in literature are his. Macaulay's zeal for

liberal English politics was due to his father's influence, who was a direct descendant of Wesley. So are Dickens and his school. The later poets all fall at Wordsworth's feet, and Wordsworth is Wesley.

Spiritual philosophy, which is the only "divine philosophy," alike recognizes Wesley as its restorer. Only as all philosophy accepts his central principles will it be accepted of men. The gross reign of material philosophy has come to an end. The world is revolting from Spencerism, the last utterance of Hobbesism, and our own schools are leading the battle for intuitionalism, which is Wesley. The most pungent and potent defender of Wesleyan philosophy is in the chair of metaphysics in our youngest university. Not unnoticeable is it that the chief representative of the opposite opinion, the philosophy of unfaith and anti-reason, is seated close at hand in the chair of the oldest Calvinistic university. Though it has revolted from Calvinism, it has not from fatalism. It yet lacks faith, and, therefore, has no real philosophy. The leading defender and the leading opponent of Spencer are thus set over against each other to wrestle for the man-soul in its deepest goings. May the professor of the intuitions reign till he sees the overthrow of the hostile, sensuous, mechanical system, and the making of all philosophy by the confession of all its professors, common sense, spiritual, Wesleyan, Christian.

Let us not err nor despair. The good and perfect gift of God, guessed at by Plato, is revealed unto us. Let the old experience still be preached, not of flesh, but of the Holy Ghost. By that our fathers did "attain to more than a prophetic strain." So shall all earthly thoughts be lifted up to the same empyrean; and he whom we have followed, and after whom we have fought and won this hundred and forty years, will stand forth more and more the deliverer of modern thought in its deepest seekings from a philosophy "fast bound in sense," its uplifter into the realm of faith in God the Spirit, and of sight in faith, and of joy in sight, leading every mind and every soul to our only Center and Source, the eternal Spirit, the Lord our God.

ART. II.—SOME OBJECTIONS TO THEISM.

A Candid Examination of Theism. By PHYSICUS. English and Foreign Philosophical Library, Vol. XIII. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, & Co. 1878.

THE first impression which this book makes upon the critic is that criticism is useless. Its fiat science and fiat logic are such as to convince him that the author is beyond the reach of argument, and that discussion with him would be as fruitless as with certain sectarians who base their dogmas on a few obscure texts which no one else has ever noticed. Its fiatism further convinces the critic that criticism is needless, for no thoughtful person will be any more likely to be influenced by it than by Millerism or spiritualism. From another stand-point, however, an extended criticism may be excused. The work sums up in a short space a great many current objections to theism, and, as such, furnishes a good text for some general exposition. Finally, too, criticism may be regarded as a duty. Ignorance alone may be excused, for it often results from causes, subjective or objective, for which the person is not to blame. Modest ignorance, even when dense, should be tenderly dealt with. Insolence, also, may be excused, when it is based on a respectable amount of knowledge. But ignorance and insolence combined make a nuisance which it is a positive duty to abate; especially when they claim to be philosophy and science.

Some authors are said to suffer from excessive self-depreciation. The author of the "Candid Examination" is not of this class. He claims for his work great logical rigor and scientific precision. Finally he expresses his own estimate of it as follows:—

> At a time like the present, when traditional beliefs respecting theism are so generally accepted, and so commonly concluded, as a matter of course, to have a large and valid basis of induction whereon to rest, I cannot but feel that a perusal of this short essay, by showing how very concise the scientific STATUS of the subject really is, will do more to settle the minds of most readers as to the exact standing at the present time of all the probabilities of the question, than could a perusal of all the rest of the literature upon this subject.

This occurs on page 112, in a general summary which begins on page 102. Hence the author has succeeded in condensing

into one hundred and one pages the gist of all that theists and atheists have ever said. A work of this kind is certainly deserving of the highest praise, and must fill every thoughtful person with eagerness to know what the author has done. That something terrible has happened is evident from another passage:—

> Never in the history of man has so terrific a calamity befallen the race as that which all who look may now behold advancing as a deluge, black with destruction, resistless in might, uprooting our most cherished hopes, engulfing our most precious creed, and burying our highest life in mindless desolation. Science, whom erewhile we thought a very angel of God, pointing to that great barrier of law, and proclaiming to the restless sea of changing doubt, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed," even science has now herself thrown down this trusted barrier; the flood-gates of infidelity are open, and atheism overwhelming is upon us.—P. 51.
>
> Man has truly become in a new sense the measure of the universe, and in this the latest and most appalling of his surroundings indications are returned from the infinite voids of space and time by which he is surrounded, that his intelligence, with all its noble capacities for love and adoration, is yet alone—destitute of kith or kin in all this universe of being.—P. 63.

These passages have in them something of the cry of a wild beast at bay, and certainly they must cause the theist great heart-searching. At one fell swoop, in less than a hundred pages, theism is utterly demolished, and "atheism overwhelming is upon us." It hardly relieves the matter to know that the author himself professes agnosticism, for no rational theist would care to keep his faith after all rational ground for it has been overthrown. It is, therefore, with fear and trembling that we approach the arguments which support this awful conclusion. But before beginning specific criticism, we make one or two general statements, which, however, will not be without bearing upon the later argument.

In the course of our reading we have often remarked that most objections to the theistic argument depend upon attributing to theists views and purposes which they do not for a moment accept. By thus forcing them into a false position, and by assuming that they mean to do what they expressly disclaim, it is easy to convict them of failure, and to denounce their arguments as worthless. For example, many objections are based on the failure to distinguish between demonstrating

a theorem and solving a problem. It is assumed that the theist means to demonstrate the divine existence; and when it is shown that a proper demonstration of this fact, as of all facts, is impossible, the claim is set up that theism is a failure. But the demonstration of theorems belongs only to the formal sciences; all the sciences which deal with reality aim only at the solution of problems. They find their problems in the facts, and then they raise the question how we must think of the back-lying cause, or causes, or antecedents, in order that the facts should be as they are. The geologist finds traces of fire in the rocks, and he explains them by assuming that the earth was once molten. Now, even if we allow this conclusion to be just, he would not pretend that he had demonstrated the original fluidity of the earth, but only that he had given a rational solution of the problem furnished by the igneous rocks, etc. So, too, the astronomer who holds the nebular theory would not claim to have demonstrated the nebula, but to have solved the problem contained in the arrangements of the solar system. The same is true for the evolution theory, and for every other scientific hypothesis. Now, it is conceivable that some one should set out to determine the "logical value" of all these hypotheses, and he would find no difficulty in showing that they are all sadly illogical, as tested by the canons of formal logic, or, at least, that they cannot be regarded as proved. But if, on the strength of such a showing, he should conclude that scientific hypotheses deserve no credit, he would certainly be regarded as a fool. But when identical reasoning is applied to the theistic hypothesis, which is just as scientific as the atomic, or evolution hypothesis, it is viewed as a very serious attack, and the word is passed around that theism has no "logical standing."

Now, the theistic theory, so far as it is based on the design argument, is very simple. Like all scientific hypotheses, it does not aim to demonstrate a theorem, but to solve a problem. This problem consists in the order and intelligible character of the universe. The theist observes harmony and the adaptation of means to ends; and the more he studies the system, whether in the organic or the inorganic realm, the more wide-reaching he finds the reign of law, and the more intimate and accurate the universal balance and adaptation.

He thinks upon the problem, and speculates as to its solution. He observes that all order and adaptation in a manifold which we can trace to a beginning, originate in thought, before they stand forth in fact. But the world, also, is a manifold of things and activities which conspire together to produce order and purpose-like results. Thought is the only assignable source of order and adaptation in a plurality of things or effects; and the theist concludes that the natural order, also, has its origin and explanation in thought. This view, he says, is not far-fetched or violent. It is level to the plainest intelligence, and it is the only view which really satisfies the mind. It is in harmony with common sense, and is adequate to the facts. It makes the system, at least in its outlines, luminous and intelligible. On any other view, nature is perfectly opaque and impenetrable to intelligence. On all these grounds, therefore, he holds that the visible order has its root and explanation in thought.

To this entirely simple position, it is now common to object that there is no proof that all order is designed order, and, therefore, the theistic conclusion cannot be allowed. The reply is that, put in this abstract form, the objection may be allowed; but when a highly complex order is found in a manifold, an order involving most intricate intelligible relations, and issuing constantly in myriad products which are compact of seeming purpose, the human mind is such that it cannot regard such an order as self-existent. An order of this kind constitutes a problem for explanation; no one is content to rest in it as a mere fact. Most atheists admit this, and attempt to explain it as an outcome of unintelligent activity. The theist says that thinking men are generally agreed that the order of the system constitutes a problem for explanation. We must, then, view it as founded either in intelligence or in non-intelligence. A certain class, which we shall consider farther on, regards the essential order of the system as eternal, and hence an ultimate fact which admits of no explanation; but for all those who view it as derived or produced, there is no alternative but to view it as issuing either from intelligence or from non-intelligence. No amount of shuffling with such terms as natural law, evolution, persistence of force, and the like, can affect this alternative. The theist, therefore, decides for intel-

ligence as the only natural explanation of the natural order. The atheist must believe either in one universal mechanical agent, or in a plurality of atoms. In the first case, he believes that an unintelligent being can work at an infinity of points, correlating its activity at every point to its infinite other co-existent activities, and can further co-ordinate its activities so that the result is intelligible as a whole, and, also, in its smallest parts; yet all the while it is supposed to have no consciousness, either of itself or of what it is doing. It both founds and follows the most complex intelligible order, yet without intelligence. If the atheist accept the atomic view, he then believes in an indefinite plurality of infinitesimal agents, each of which must respond to every other with just that action which its peculiar position demands. The atheist further believes that all these elements cannot only do this, but can work together according to an intelligible order, and as if animated by a common purpose; while all the while they are utterly unconscious either of themselves, or of their fellows to which they are constantly responding, or of the order which they are constantly following. This difficulty cannot be dodged by talking of natural law, for the law is but an abstract from the order to be explained. Now, the theist does not aim to prove that all order is designed order, nor even that the natural order was designed. But as he must choose between these explanations, he thinks it far more natural to refer the infinitely complex intelligible order of things to intelligence than to accept the atheistic alternative.

Now, the atheist does not like this putting. His tactics are always to pick flaws in the theistic argument, and thus divert attention from his own views. In particular, the alternative of viewing the source of nature as either intelligent or non-intelligent is especially displeasing; and accordingly he proceeds to raise a dust, as follows. It is said that though we cannot conceive any explanation of order in a manifold but intelligence, there may well be other explanations. The author under review makes much of this objection. We are bidden to think of the vast unknown, and especially of the vastness of the possible; and who can tell what the awful and unsounded possible may contain? It is mere hardihood, therefore, to say that intelligence is the only explanation of complex intelligible

order. To this the theist replies with great cheerfulness, that when it comes to dealing with the awful possible, he must be allowed to give it up. He admits that we shall always have to use those terms which our reason and experience furnish. But the aim of all explanation is to satisfy the reason we have, and hence, reason being as it is, and our knowledge being as it is, it is more rational to refer the system to an intelligent, than to a non-intelligent source. It will always be possible to object to knowledge on the basis of some possible unknown, but no rational being will long consent to be imposed upon by such logical buffoonery. One might say that heat is, indeed, the only explanation of the fire rocks, but it would be great hardihood to assert that they have really been modified by heat, because of the vastness of the unknown possible; but the geologist would class him with circle-squares and spirit-rappers. Yet a principle which would be repudiated with mental loathing in the sciences, becomes wonderfully acute when applied to theism. Here the atheist further objects that intelligence and non-intelligence do not form a complete disjunction; they do, indeed, for our thought, but the limits of thought are not the limits of being. He holds, then, that we are not compelled to choose between intelligence and non-intelligence as the source of things, for there may well be orders of being as far above intelligence as that is above mechanism. It does, indeed, sound well to say that the limits of thought are not the limits of being; and if by thought be meant imagination, or proper comprehension, the statement is true; but in the present case the doctrine, though it seems to say something, is empty of the slightest content. It is only logical sound and fury. This notion of a something which is neither intelligent nor non-intelligent is a mere phrase, to which there is no corresponding thought. The theist, therefore, is not in the least disturbed by it. The aim of both science and philosophy is to explain and comprehend a definite set of facts, and it is no explanation to refer them to a phrase; that is rather an abandonment of the problem. Hence the theist declines to pay any attention to these vaporings about the possibilities of being until such phrases are made intelligible, and until these ineffable modes are proved to exist in fact. Until this is done, intelligence or non-intelligence is the only possible explanation of the system. An atheism which is

based on appeals from what we know to what we do not know, or on the notion of something which is neither intelligent nor non-intelligent, will never do thoughtful people much harm.

Another objection may be noted. Every doctrine, it is said, must be capable of verification; and whatever cannot be verified must be rejected as unscientific. This formula has been made very prominent by Matthew Arnold, and is supposed to be fatal to theism. Its force may be broken, however, by asking what is meant by verification. The most of scientific theories admit of no verification beyond a showing that the facts call for them. Such are the atomic theory, the original fluidity of the earth, the doctrine of evolution, the ether theory, etc. If the theist can show that the facts of nature point to intelligence as their cause, then the theistic hypothesis has just the same kind of verification which most scientific hypotheses have. To insist upon any other kind of verification indicates either mental confusion or a willingness to discriminate against theism.

We proceed now to deal with the work in hand. The author opens with a chapter on illogical theistic arguments. Among these he mentions that from the law of causation. It is useless to examine this. His theory of causation is the common empirical doctrine of antecedence and sequence. No empiricist has ever consistently held this doctrine, and none ever will. But it is very useful in polemics; and so long as one may have the advantage of the doctrine and be defended by uncritical common sense from its destructive consequences, it will not lack adherents. If the empirical philosophy were forced to accept its consequences it would not stand for a day; but as those consequences are extreme, crude common sense is invoked to save it. There is logic of a sort in this procedure; but it is the logic of the "heathen Chinee," as he laid down the right bower. We cannot, then, examine the author's objection to the argument from causation, as that would involve an examination of empiricism. We will only remark in passing that his doctrine of experience has not prevented him from learning somehow that matter and force are necessary and eternal. This doctrine is the great pillar of his atheism. Of course, this is an abandonment of empiricism, but there is good ground for it. The atheistic argument demands the assumption. If this should not seem reason enough to the benighted

theist who is not versed in the odd, yet genial, ways of the advanced thinkers, we can only have compassion on his innocence.

The author has no insight into his own principles. Hence he says: "The argument from the general consent of mankind is so clearly fallacious, both as to facts and principles, that I shall pass it over."—P. 6. Yet the author is an evolutionist, and is not a philosophical skeptic. Now, on the evolution theory of knowledge, all our beliefs are made for us. It has, and can have, no other test of truth and probability than universality and persistence. If all knowledge is not to be swamped in skepticism, this theory more than any other must view any general belief as having a very high probability. And the evolutionists do this when dealing with the laws of thought. These are declared to be the deposit ot the universe in us; and in their universality and constancy we have the highest evidence that they are parallel to reality. But the same universe has, also, wrought into the human mind a belief that nature is founded in intelligence. In the various distortions which the belief has undergone, this factor has survived. As mental evolution has advanced, the belief has grown stronger and firmer. The few atheists furnish no more exceptions to the general belief than idiots do to the general common sense. We look, then, to the evolutionist, of all men, for an acceptance of theism; but to our surprise, and in the teeth of all logic, he declares that the common consent of mankind furnishes no ground for belief whatever. He also suggests that theism is probably born of fetichism, and, at all events, originated in a savage state; while his own theory is the product of modern enlightenment. If the theist should suggest that on evolution principles a belief which began in the earliest dawn of manhood, and has grown stronger ever since, must be more probable than the late opinion of a little clique, he would be blandly told that it is not for him to know the mysteries of evolution reasoning. He must consent to take what is given him, and if the distribution seem at times a little unfair, why, he must grin and bear it.

The argument from human freedom is dismissed with equal curtness. The author settles the question by saying: "I, for one, am quite persuaded that I never perform any action with-

out some appropriate motive, or set of motives, having induced me to perform it."—P. 25. The believer in freedom does not hold that we act without motives, but only that motives are reasons, and not causes. Yet the author says he is candid, and we are bound to believe him. But we cannot estimate his candor and intelligence highly at the same time. Such criticisms force us to affirm an inverse relation between them. Yet such babble is supposed to give more light than all the rest of the literature on this subject.

The author, also, examines the argument from the existence of the human mind. This argument is essentially that personality and intelligence cannot be the product of agents which are unintelligent and brute. The author's criticism is mainly his irrelevant appeal to ignorance. He asks: "What is our warrant for making this assertion? Where is the proof that nothing can have caused a mind except another mind? Answer to this question, there is none. For aught that we can ever know to the contrary, anything within the whole range of the Possible may be competent to produce a self-conscious intelligence."—P. 14. A single gleam of common sense appears in the following sentence: "Is not that which is most conceivable, most likely to be true? and if it is more conceivable that my intelligence is caused by another intelligence than that it is caused by non-intelligence, may I not regard the more conceivable hypothesis as also the more probable one?" But the author proceeds at once to extinguish the gleam by saying that this argument "is still to an indefinite degree valueless, seeing that we are unable to tell how much more it is likely that the more conceivable should here be true than that the less conceivable should be so."—P. 18. The author then skirmishes a little with the "conceivable," and concludes: "Upon the whole, then, I think it is transparently obvious that the mere fact of our being unable to conceive, say, how any disposition of matter and motion could possibly give rise to a self-conscious intelligence, in no wise warrants us in concluding that for this reason no such disposition is possible."—P. 20.

There is here an appearance of great logical rigor, and of hitting the nail squarely on the head. Nevertheless, the principle of reasoning here laid down would plunge all science into skepticism. One can always appeal from what seems rational

to the unknown possible. One can always urge that there is no proof that what we regard as the only rational explanation of a set of facts may not be contradicted by the "inconceivable existent." But as this method would not be tolerated in an argument against a physical theory, we protest against using it against theism. The belief in God may be unwelcome to many minds, but we insist that it shall be judged by the same standards which we apply elsewhere; or shall we erect it into a supreme logical canon that anything is justifiable to save atheism? The author's method certainly savors more of the philosophical pirate and assassin than of the impartial reasoner. We repeat once more that the theist does not aim to demonstrate a theorem, but to solve a problem; and his conflict is not with the "inconceivable existent," or with the sum of the "possible," but with such other theories as are intelligible, and are based on actual knowledge. Moreover, he does not meet these opponents in the deep night of the unknowable, but in the daylight of rationality; and his claim is that the facts and reason being what they are, a substantial soul and an intelligent Creator are the only rational explanation of the facts. He is ready to listen to any explanation which is intelligible and which is based on known facts, but he declines to pay any attention to arguments based on inarticulate imaginings about the "possible."

But it is not our purpose to discuss materialism. We merely state our belief that this doctrine is possible only to mental immaturity, or to a time of philosophical decadence. We pass to notice an argument which is common on the relation of matter to theism and spiritualism, and which rests on great philosophical crudeness. The author appeals largely to the law of parsimony. We are not to assume more causes than are necessary. But in matter and force we have a true cause, and hence we are not to posit other causes until we are sure that these will not account for the phenomena. But this makes it necessary for the theist to prove a negative before his own view can claim acceptance. This argument, in principle, is a very common one in atheistic discussions; and at first glance it seems conclusive. Thoughtless common sense is quite able to understand it, and views it with approval. In this way, the impression is made that atheism and materialism must either allow this, or admit that a being which is essentially unintelligent can work at every point in space with constant reference to all other points, and with reference to a plan, and can, also, produce self-conscious, intelligent beings, yet all the while without the least knowledge of what it is doing. If, on the other hand, the atheist regards matter as many, he cannot explain the unity of consciousness, the facts of memory, the possibility of reasoning, or even of consciousness. The materialist is fond of defining mind as a series of states of consciousness, and fails to notice that a series cannot exist except for the truly one. Successive states become consciousness only as they are gathered up by a substantial and unitary subject into the unity of self-consciousness. Mind, then, cannot be the product of the many; and the contrary proposition is unintelligible even in statement, except as we implicitly deny it. Applied to the world, this theory of matter assumes a multitude of self-existent, yet not independent, individuals, (a contradiction,) which are in constant and intimate correspondence with every other throughout the system, and in such a way that an intelligible order, and myriad products compact of seeming purpose, result; but all the while they know nothing either of themselves, or of their neighbors, or of the order they regard, or the intelligible products they are bringing forth. We repeat once more that neither matter nor mind are perceived to produce any thing; but certain effects are perceived, and we reason to causes. The character of these causes must be determined entirely by observing their effects. Hence atheism versus theism, or materialism versus spiritualism, is not a case of fact against theory; but of theory against theory, with reason to judge between them. To overlook this fact is impossible to one with the least knowledge of philosophical criticism. The question, then, is not what we shall call the ultimate reality, but how we shall regard it; as we must view it as either intelligent or non-intelligent, no appeals to the "possible" shall shake our conviction that an intelligible order and universal adaptation point to intelligence in their cause. Much dust may be raised by these appeals, but the clear mind does not allow them to obscure the alternative of intelligence or non-intelligence as the cause of order and adaptation. They are simply philosophical are based on facts; while theism and spiritualism are only theories invented to explain such outstanding facts as cannot be explained by matter and force. But the realm of the latter is ever growing; but thus the need both of God and the soul is ever growing less. Both must finally be displaced by advanceing knowledge.

Convincing as this seems, its innocence is really such as almost to disarm criticism. As thus used, matter is as much a hypothesis as either God or the soul, or, rather, it is as metaphysical as either. The average atheist or materialist fancies that he has a direct perception of noumenal matter as the cause of phenomena, although upon occasion he loudly proclaims the phenomenal character of all knowledge. But, in fact, the character of the agent or agents behind phenomena is purely a matter of inference. That matter, as defined in works on mechanics, or as capable only of motion, form, and position, cannot be the cause of life and mind, is simply a matter of definition. The absolutely unlike cannot be identified, except by an act of volition. To make matter all-inclusive, we must include all in its definition. Professor Tyndall proposes to define matter by observing what it can do; but this is to contend for a name. It makes no matter what the agent or agents which produce phenomena are *called:* what we want to know is what attributes we must give them. If we are determined to call them matter, we must enlarge our definition of matter and make it something mystic and transcendental. But since these mystic properties are not objects of perception, but purely of inference, it is plain that we should infer such as will be of use after they are inferred. Now, among the whole list of mystical properties by which we seek to explain the finite mind, and the natural order, there is no one which is so effective and satisfactory as intelligence. Again, matter must be either one or many. It is often spoken of by the atheist as if it were one and universal, like the one of Parmenides, or the being of Hegel. Matter, in this sense, is entirely foreign to the vulgar notion of matter; and the content of the notion is purely formal. What is in it must be determined by what comes out; and if it be found to work intelligibly, the only rational conclusion is that it is intelligent. There is no objection to calling it matter, except that the term is misleading; but the content of the notion is that of mind. The atheist

must either allow this, or admit that a being which is essentially unintelligent can work at every point in space with constant reference to all other points, and with reference to a plan, and can, also, produce self-conscious, intelligent beings, yet all the while without the least knowledge of what it is doing. If, on the other hand, the atheist regards matter as many, he cannot explain the unity of consciousness, the facts of memory, the possibility of reasoning, or even of consciousness. The materialist is fond of defining mind as a series of states of consciousness, and fails to notice that a series cannot exist except for the truly one. Successive states become consciousness only as they are gathered up by a substantial and unitary subject into the unity of self-consciousness. Mind, then, cannot be the product of the many; and the contrary proposition is unintelligible even in statement, except as we implicitly deny it. Applied to the world, this theory of matter assumes a multitude of self-existent, yet not independent, infinitesimals, (a contradiction,) which are in constant and intimate correspondence with every other throughout the system, and in such a way that an intelligible order, and myriad products compact of seeming purpose, result; but all the while they know nothing either of themselves, or of their neighbors, or of the order they regard, or the intelligible products they are bringing forth. We repeat once more that neither matter nor mind are perceived to produce any thing; but certain effects are perceived, and we reason to causes. The character of these causes must be determined entirely by observing their effects. Hence atheism *versus* theism, or materialism *versus* spiritualism, is not a case of fact against theory; but of theory against theory, with reason to judge between them. To overlook this fact is impossible to one with the least knowledge of philosophical criticism. The question, then, is not what we shall call the ultimate reality, but how we shall regard it; as we must view it as either intelligent or non-intelligent, no appeals to the "possible" shall shake our conviction that an intelligible order and universal adaptation point to intelligence in their cause. Much dust may be raised by these appeals, but the clear mind does not allow them to obscure the alternative of intelligence or non-intelligence as the cause of order and adaptation. They are simply philosophical must either allow this, or admit that a being which is essentially unintelligent can work at every point in space with constant reference to all other points, and with reference to a plan, and can, also, produce self-conscious, intelligent beings, yet all the while without the least knowledge of what it is doing. If, on the other hand, the atheist regards matter as many, he cannot explain the unity of consciousness, the facts of memory, the possibility of reasoning, or even of consciousness. The materialist is fond of defining mind as a series of states of consciousness, and fails to notice that a series cannot exist except for the truly one. Successive states become consciousness only as they are gathered up by a substantial and unitary subject into the unity of self-consciousness. Mind, then, cannot be the product of the many; and the contrary proposition is unintelligible even in statement, except as we implicitly deny it. Applied to the world, this theory of matter assumes a multitude of self-existent, yet not independent, infinitesimals, (a contradiction,) which are in constant and intricate correspondence with every other throughout the system, and in such a way that an intelligible order, and myriad products suggestive of seeming purpose, result; but all the while they know nothing either of themselves, or of their neighbors, or of the order they regard, or the intelligible products they are bringing forth. We repeat once more that neither matter nor mind are perceived to produce any thing; but certain effects are perceived, and we reason to causes. The character of these causes must be determined entirely by observing their effects. Hence atheism versus theism, or materialism versus spiritualism, is not a case of fact against theory; but of theory against theory, with reason to judge between them. To overlook this fact is impossible to one with the least knowledge of philosophical criticism. The question, then, is not what we shall call the ultimate reality, but how we shall regard it; as we must view it as either intelligent or non-intelligent, no appeals to the "possible" shall shake our conviction that an intelligible order and universal adaptation point to intelligence in their cause. Much dust may be raised by such appeals, but the clear mind does not allow them to obscure the alternative of intelligence or non-intelligence as the cause of order and adaptation. They are simply philosophical hasheesh, or the devices of whirling dervishes for rendering the mind dizzy and an easy prey to sophistry.

Curiously enough, the author, in spite of his great backer, the "Possible," allows that until recently the argument from order and intelligibility was practically conclusive. He says: "Had it been my lot to have lived in the last generation, . . . I should have concluded that there was an overwhelming balance of rational probability in favor of theism; and I think I should, also, have insisted that this balance of rational probability would require to continue as it was till the end of time."—P. 47. Elsewhere he brings the validity of this argument down to a very recent date. "For this argument assumes, rightly enough, that the only alternative we have in choosing our hypothesis concerning the final explanation of things is either to regard that explanation as Intelligence or Fortuity. This, I say, was a legitimate argument a few months ago, because up to that time no one had shown that strictly natural causes, as distinguished from chances, could conceivably be able to produce a cosmos."—P. 159. But such a principle has at length been discovered. It is not natural selection nor the nebular hypothesis which has wrought this mischief. Both of these theories, the author allows, are irrelevant in theistic argument. But there is another principle which has at last removed all need of the theistic hypothesis; and this is what he is pleased to call the persistence of force. "The self-generation of natural law is a necessary corollary from the persistence of matter and force."—P. 57. "In these previous chapters, the proposition was clearly established that, just as certainly as the fundamental data of science are true, so certainly is it true that the theory of theism in any shape is, *scientifically* considered, superfluous; for these chapters have clearly shown that if there is a God, his existence considered as a cause of things is as certainly unnecessary as it is certainly true that force is persistent and that matter is indestructible."—P. 72. "The hypothesis of mind in nature is as certainly superfluous to account for any of the phenomena of nature, as the scientific doctrine of the persistence of force and the indestructibility of matter are certainly true."—P. 113; see, also, pp. 141, 161–163, 168.

This argument is identical with that of Herbert Spencer;

and hence the author feels called upon to say that it is, also, original with himself. (P. 52.) Both writers seem unable to conceive of mind as working through nature. They regard it as a demiurge upsetting all natural law, instead of founding law. Both writers also seem to imagine that they are talking science; they identify their principle with what is known among physicists and mathematicians as the conservation of energy. But both make such grotesque blunders, allowing them to mean this, that we must suppose they have some other thought in mind. Both make it the fundamental *datum* not only of science, but even of experience. Spencer declares that it cannot be proved, because it is the *a priori* basis of all proof. He says of it: "Deeper than demonstration—deeper even than definite cognition—deep as the very nature of mind, is the postulate at which we have arrived. Its authority transcends all other whatever; for not only is it given in the constitution of our own consciousness, but it is impossible to imagine a consciousness so constituted as not to give it." * The author uses similar language, declaring it to be an *a priori* truth, etc.; although in a single passage he seems to have a suspicion of the absurdity. If these writers imagine that they are dealing with the physical doctrine of the conservation of energy, then we must agree with Spencer, that the doctrine is "deeper even than definite cognition," at least on their part; for no absurdity can be greater than to call a doctrine a necessity of consciousness, which not one mind in a thousand can formulate, and which neither Spencer nor Physicus has understood, in spite of their consciousness. It is equally absurd to call that an *a priori* truth which is purely a product of induction, and which is not true at all, except under certain definite conditions. It must be some other doctrine which they have in mind; and there are many passages which support this view. Accordingly Spencer says: "Thus, by the persistence of Force, we really mean the persistence of some Power which transcends our knowledge and conception. . . . In other words, asserting the persistence of Force is but another mode of asserting an unconditioned Reality, without beginning or end." † The author follows in his wake and says: "Whenever

---

* "First Principles." First edition, p. 258.

† "First Principles," p. 255.

throughout the following pages I speak of force as persisting, what I intend to be understood is, that there is something—call it force, or energy, or x—which, so far as experience or imagination can extend, is in its relation to us ubiquitous and illimitable."—P. 52. Elsewhere he identifies it with the law of causation, the uniformity of nature, and "Permanent Existence."—Pp. 191, 192. But in these quotations we have no scientific doctrine of any kind, but simply the metaphysical doctrine of necessary and permanent being. The physicist would waver between a smile and impatience at being told that his doctrine of conservation means only that there is "an Unconditioned Reality, without beginning or end," and one which transcends our knowledge and conception. Just as little does he mean to affirm the existence of something "ubiquitous and illimitable." If it be said that the absolute truth of the doctrine implies these transcendental notions, the reply is that the physicist knows better than to confound the conditions of a formula with the formula itself or with its consequences. The doctrine in question is a hypothetical judgment, and even the school-boy knows that the antecedent cannot be proved by assuming the consequent. Moreover, the doctrine has nothing to do with metaphysics; but is a definite *result of* dynamical reasoning on assumed data, and these assumptions are in the main justified by induction. Yet both Spencer and Physicus constantly appeal to their doctrine as the great doctrine of science. In truth, their knowledge of physics is purely hearsay and verbal, and hence they understand scientific formula only through verbal exegesis. In this way the definite meaning of the terms and the limitations which they always have in the *formulæ*, are ignored; and the *formulæ* themselves are swelled out to mean anything which their argument happens to require. Meanwhile, as no verbal absurdity is reached, both authors fancy that they are on the high road of science. But if we are to speak the truth here, we must say that neither of them shows a shadow of intelligent comprehension of what the physical doctrine means, and that, too, in spite of the fact that "it is impossible to imagine a consciousness so constituted as not to give it." Yet on the basis of this ghastly ignorance, they affect to speak in the name of science, and to proclaim the final overthrow of theism so far as it is based on the intelligible order and nature

of the system. It is on such scientific soil that atheism especially flourishes.

There is a modest doctrine of much interest, called the conservation of energy, which a great many of us accept, and in which we find nothing hostile to theism. This doctrine is not the affirmation of "an unconditioned reality," or a "ubiquitous power." It assumes a multitude of physical elements, and assumes the laws of their actions. It neither assumes to deduce the elements nor their laws, nor the qualities whereby they react differently under different conditions. These are the data. It next declares that if these elements fulfill certain conditions, none of which are necessary, there will be no loss of energy in the system. The mechanical doctrine of heat, electricity, etc., is of especial interest as showing how molar energy may give rise to molecular energy, and conversely. The vulgar notion that there is one all-embracing power, of which all action is a particular manifestation, is totally foreign to the physical doctrine. Equally foreign is the notion that energy is a substantial something which undergoes constant transformation, yet always remains itself. These are merely the verbal renderings of the ignorant. Energy is the energy of something, and that something is the elements. Energy is transferred only as motion is transferred; that is, not at all. A given motion may be exhausted in producing a new motion, but in no proper sense can it be transferred. Energy is transformed only as motion is transformed. A thing in motion may give rise to another kind of motion in some other thing, but the truth is not that motion has been transformed, but that one phenomenon has been succeeded by another, unlike the first, but its dynamical equivalent. So, also, a thing in action may cause another to pass into a different phase of activity, and we improperly call this a transformation of energy. Neither motion nor energy can be transferred nor transformed, and for the simple reason that they are nothing substantial, but states of a subject. The fact is that the physical elements are so related to one another that interaction is possible, and that the energy of any element, or set of elements, cannot be exhausted without awakening in other elements an equivalent energy, dynamically considered. This simple truth, which under the assumed conditions is really a direct inference from of the system. It is on such scientific soil that atheism specially flourishes.

There is a modest doctrine of much interest, called the conservation of energy, which a great many of us accept, and in which we find nothing hostile to theism. This doctrine is not the affirmation of "an unconditioned reality," or a "ubiquitous power." It assumes a multitude of physical elements, and assumes the laws of their actions. It neither assumes to deduce the elements nor their laws, nor the qualities whereby they react differently under different conditions. These are the data. It next declares that if these elements fulfil certain conditions, none of which are necessary, there will be no loss of energy in the system. The mechanical doctrine of heat, electricity, etc., is of especial interest as showing how molar energy may give rise to molecular energy, and conversely. The vulgar notion that there is one all-embracing power, of which all action is a particular manifestation, is totally foreign to the physical doctrine. Equally foreign is the notion that energy is a substantial something which undergoes constant transformation, yet always remains itself. These are merely the verbal renderings of the ignorant. Energy is the energy of something, and that something is the elements. Energy is transferred only as motion is transferred; that is, not at all. A given motion may be exhausted in producing a new motion, but in no proper sense can it be transferred. Energy is transformed only as motion is transformed. A thing in motion may give rise to another kind of motion in some other thing, but the truth is not that motion has been transformed, but that one phenomenon has been succeeded by another, unlike the first, but its dynamical equivalent. So, also, a thing in action may cause another to pass into a different phase of activity, and we improperly call this a transformation of energy. Neither motion nor energy can be transferred nor transformed, and for the simple reason that they are nothing substantial, but states of a subject. The fact is that the physical elements are so related to one another that interaction is possible, and that the energy of any element, or set of elements, cannot be exhausted without awakening in other elements an equivalent energy, dynamically considered. This simple truth, which under the assumed conditions is really a direct inference from the third law of motion, or the equality of action and reaction, is swelled out by ignorance and hearsay science into the affirmation of an unconditioned and unknowable reality, ubiquitous in time and space, a veritable Proteus, etc.; and then it is tortured into denying creation, freedom, the soul, and God; and, finally, we are told that it binds nature fast in fate in a most adamantine fashion. So terrible are the ravages of words without knowledge. So devastating is hearsay science.

The physical doctrine of conservation is proved only for a physical system whose elements fulfill certain conditions. Whether there be other agents whose activity is of another kind, or follows other laws than those which the doctrine contemplates, the physicist determines by observation and experience. He leaves to men who think the doctrine of an *a priori* truth and an unfailing deliverance of consciousness, to erect it into an absolute principle which excludes every thing disagreeable to themselves. So far as the doctrine has any cosmological applications, it points to the temporary character of the present system. Physicus parries this by his stale device of appealing to the unknown. We are not prepared to accept the conclusion which Thomson, Tait, Clausius, and others have drawn from this law, namely, that the present system is temporary; but all must admit that the known facts point in that direction. This fact ought at least to warn atheistic speculations against fumbling with a doctrine which they rarely understand. But we leave this question, and point out that the doctrine, as the physicists understand it, certainly contains no explanation of the teleological aspect of things. The actual system depends as much on the differentiation of energy as on its conservation. If all energy had the form of heat, or any other single form, there would be simple meaningless uniformity, and yet the law of conservation would be as absolute as now. This differentiation, however, depends, first, on certain primary and irreducible qualities in the elements, which the doctrine assumes, without attempting to explain; second, on the relations of the elements one to another. Physicus seems to imagine that the atoms themselves must be evolved, and he takes Clark Maxwell severely to task for saying that they are natural constants. This statement, he says, "cannot leave two opinions in any impartial mind concerning his competency to deal with such

subjects."—P. 156. To which we reply that all theoretical physical science is either molar or molecular, and, as such, assumes its molecules and all their laws and properties. Now the members of the same class are all alike, and hence, as Herschell said, have all the marks of a manufactured article. To this Physicus objects, declaring that they may have been evolved, and he seems to think this would remove the mystery. In truth Physicus belongs to that unfortunate class of confused minds who fancy that every thing can be evolved from nothing. It has never occurred to them that every process involves a definite agent or agents with definite nature and laws, as its fundamental condition. These, as the founders of the process, can never be explained by the process. If Physicus could only master this simple consideration, he would see that evolution is totally unable to remove in any way the need of intelligence to explain the intelligible. Now, the conservation of energy no more explains the intelligible character of the system than does the allied doctrine of the indestructibility of matter. The latter doctrine is as compatible with phenomenal chaos as with order, and, therefore, it does not explain order. The intelligible laws and collocations of matter must find their explanation in some other principle. In the same way the conservation of energy is compatible with a dead uniformity of energy, or with the most meaningless and chaotic applications of energy. What the theist wishes to know is, why energy should be so differentiated and applied that an intelligible and purpose-like system should result; and to this the doctrine of conservation has no answer. Physicus does attempt such an answer, (pp. 52-57,) which for dreary scientific Tupperism is unsurpassed by anything in literature, unless it be Spencer's chapter on the Instability of the Homogeneous, and the other chapters immediately following, together with his exposition of the formula that intelligence consists in the "adjustment of internal relations to external relations." These lucubrations, perhaps, deserve the first place. That any presumably rational persons should ever have found in them any thing but vague and meaningless generalities is an extremely striking illustration of the possibility of the inconceivable. Physicus apparently imagines that any nebulous mass of matter must necessarily develop into a system like the present, and he fancies that

he has the nebular theory to support him. We beg leave to assure him that this is a mistake, and that his understanding of the nebular theory is as verbal as his understanding of conservation; and we further assure him that his opinion that conservation is an *a priori* truth "cannot leave two opinions in any impartial mind concerning his competency to deal with such subjects." The same might be said of his claim concerning gravitation, that "its peculiar quantitative action necessarily follows from the primary qualities of space."—P. 54. This blunder is, probably, due to his servile following of Spencer, who, however, has abandoned the claim in the third edition of his "First Principles." For the rest, the argument amounts to this: This visible order of nature depends on an invisible order among the elements. Now, the visible order changes, and may even pass away or be completely reversed. But the underlying agents are, so far as we know, eternal. How they came to have their laws and relations we do not know; but they have them, and, having them, their outcome is a necessity. Hence, matter being as it is, both in law and relation, every thing finds its explanation in matter as it exists. Physicus has now and then a glimpse of this argument, but he nowhere develops it with any clearness. The argument reduces to this: When dice are loaded so as to fall in a certain way, we find a full explanation of the peculiar results in the fact of a peculiar loading. Now matter is loaded, so that events must fall out just as they do, and this loaded matter is an eternal fact. This is the view to which we referred at the start as possible, namely, that order is eternal, and as a first fact it admits no explanation. The theist holds that this loaded condition points to a loader; the atheist that there is no going behind it.

This view once more assumes that matter is known directly as a noumenon instead of being a metaphysical inference. In judging it we must bear in mind the distinction we have so often insisted upon between demonstrating a theorem and solving a problem. Of the real agent or agents underlying phenomena we know nothing, except by inference from the phenomena. The name by which we shall call it is quite indifferent; we seek to know how we shall think of it. No one denies, as Physicus seems to imagine, that there is "Permanent Existence;" the dispute is as to what is permanent, and what are

the attributes of the permanent. Now, the view which regards the underlying order as a simple fact, back of which we cannot go, is necessarily involved in the dilemma to which we have referred. The permanent must be either one or many, intelligent or non-intelligent. If one and unintelligent, we are forced to assume a being which works rationally without being rational, which works at an infinity of discreet points with constant and exact reference to its antecedent and co-existent activities, and which further combines all these activities, so that intelligible and purpose-like order results; but all the while without knowing any thing of what it is doing. If we regard the permanent as many- and non-intelligent, the case is still worse. If any one thinks this view more rational and satisfactory than the theistic doctrine, which regards the permanent as absolute intelligence and reason, we differ entirely as to the nature of the rational. But no gasconade about the "fundamental data of science," and the "persistence of force," etc., must be allowed to obscure this alternative. Plain common sense is often overawed by a false show of science; all the more, therefore, must it assert itself against mere make-believe knowledge. Physicus' interpretation of the persistence of force as meaning "Permanent Existence," is only an odd rendering of Hamilton's false theory of causation, as the eternal self-equality of existence, and throws no light on the really important question concerning the nature of that existence.

We believe it easy to show that fundamental being is one and not many; and that, therefore, it is strictly impossible to rest in any atomic theory as ultimate. But we do not propose to argue this question at present. It is concurred in by all distinguished thinkers, and, finally, even Physicus allows it. We claim, in conclusion, that there is just as much proof of the intelligence of this being as there is of the intelligence of any of our fellow-men. All are agreed that this being acts intelligibly and as if it were intelligent. There are the same rational order and consistency in its action, and the same subordination of means to ends which are the general marks of intelligence. The theist, seeing these, says, Here is intelligence. He does not, indeed, claim to prove its presence, but to recognize it; and he insists that if these marks do not indicate mind, nothing does. At this point we are often the dupes of a very shal-

ow delusion. We fancy that we have direct knowledge of finite minds; we know that our neighbors are intelligent. But in truth we know only our own minds; all others are inferred. I know that I am conscious, that I plan, contrive, etc.; but I have no such knowldege of any one else. It is solely a matter of inference, based on the fact that others act as if they were conscious and intelligent. At first sight this will seem absurd to the thoughtless, but whoever will be at the pains to reflect on the matter, will see that no one has, or can have, any immediate knowledge of any mind but his own; and the only data for inferring other minds are the intelligible and purpose-like activities which are seen to issue from human forms. But how do we know that they are not *automata* which mimic conscious reason? If the construction of the human body indicates no purpose but only a blind power, it is easily conceivable that bodily action should, also, be only the outcome of a blind mechanism. The activity of the ultimate being is intelligible and purpose-like to a far higher degree than any human activity; but this, we are told, indicates no intelligence and purpose on its part. Much less, therefore, must the activity of a human body be an indication of intelligence. The thoughtless will uneasily urge that we have experience of human intelligence, but we have none of divine intelligence; but this only proves that the term thoughtless is rightly applied. We have experience only of our own intelligence. Since the time of Descartes this difficulty has pressed the mechanical theory, and there is no escape. The same argument which disproves mind in nature, disproves it also in man. And not even thus does it escape. The theory with which we are dealing claims that the ultimate is non-intelligent and without purpose; yet upon this theory human activity is but a phase of the activity of the ultimate. But human activity is conditioned by consciousness and purpose, and hence it follows that the activity of the ultimate is, at least in the realm of human action, conditioned by consciousness and purpose. The original denial of purpose must be withdrawn, and it must be allowed that the ultimate does at times act with conscious purpose. But this being allowed, the question of the extent of this conscious and intelligent activity becomes purely a matter of evidence. Now, we have just the same proof that its extra-human activity is intel-

gent as that its human action is. It maintains rational order and subordinates means to ends as well in nature as in man; and its rationality cannot be denied in one realm without overthrowing it in the other. This conclusion can be escaped only by breaking down consciousness altogether, and denying that consciousness and purpose in any way condition our action. Consciousness must be reduced to a powerless and illusive attendant upon the underlying mechanical processes, which are entirely independent of any thing external to themselves. That is to say, we escape the conclusion by plunging all science into utter skepticism. Some speculators have gone to this length, and repudiated consciousness as delusive. That they fail to see the suicidal nature of this position is a striking illustration of the blindness which a speculative mania produces. A singular delusion masters most atheistic cosmologists. They forget that man is a part of the system, and must be explained by it. But when they come to explain man they involve themselves in a contradiction of their own first principles. They set out to explain the intelligent by the unintelligent, and make all fundamental action mechanical. Of course, they deny the substantiality of the intelligent, and reduce it to a phase of the universal activity. But they cannot deny without mental suicide that our activity is conditioned by conscious purpose, and hence that the ultimate acts with conscious purpose in human action. Hence the being which acts only mechanically is allowed to be one which can foresee results, form plans, and arrange means for their execution. But such activity, though called mechanical, is precisely what is meant by conscious and rational activity. Thus the doctrine, by its inner contradiction, passes over into its opposite and cancels itself. The only alternative is to break down consciousness and plunge into hopeless skepticism. Even if consciousness were allowed to stand, no science could live on the principles of the no-design argument. All objective science is based on the assumption of the openness and fairness of nature. Light and heat act as if there were an ether. The fire rocks look as if they had been exposed to heat. Matter behaves as if it were composed of atoms. The visible system looks as if evolution had been the method of the development. Animals act as if they were sensitive, in spite of Descartes and Huxley. Our neighbors act

as if they were intelligent. The power which underlies all things, also, acts as if it knew what it is doing. The argument is identical throughout. We hold, therefore, not that theism is demonstrated, but that it is the only rational and satisfactory solution of the problem of the universe. The alternative is now, what it always has been, intelligence or non-intelligence; and when we consider what the latter implies, we decide for theism.

We have confined ourselves to the author's alleged scientific arguments. Nearly half the work is composed of appended criticisms upon one thing and another, which call for no examination. Indeed, there is a sense of humiliation in having to consider arguments of the kind which form the staple of the book. But we cannot take leave of our author without expressing our opinion, that for swaggering ignorance his work is unsurpassed. In this respect it is one of the signs of the times. A large and growing herd of scientific and philosophical quacks is making itself prominent in speculation. Already they have become a serious infestation in current literature. Without the slightest claim to either scientific or philosophical knowledge, they yet affect to speak in the name of both, and to give us the latest results of "advanced science" and "modern thought." In this way science and philosophy are debauched by the camp-followers and bummers of both. We think that scientists and philosophers owe a duty both to themselves and to the public in this respect, which has been too much neglected. They must meet these insolent pretenders with deserved rebuke, and unmask the shallowness of their claims. Doubtless their feeling is that truth itself is mighty and must prevail; but, honorable as the sentiment is, we think it susceptible of abuse. There are pachydermatous minds, which are opaque to truth, unless error be visited with deserved severity and exposure; just as there are persons who are impervious to the dictates of decency, unless those dictates are reinforced by a possible cowhiding. It would help to abate the nuisance if the quacks were given to understand that their manifestoes will be promptly and vigorously dealt with. Irreligion is a great recommendation to a work; but it cannot be allowed to serve as logic, science, philosophy, and advertisement all at once.

Art. III.—POPULAR ASTRONOMY.

Popular Astronomy. By Simon Newcomb, LL.D., Professor in the United States Naval Observatory. With One Hundred and Twelve Engravings, and Five Maps of the Stars. Octavo, pp. 566. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

We are prepossessed with this volume at first sight. We like the theme: "The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein." Astronomy is the science of grand ideas. It deals with vast magnitudes, immeasurable distances, and inconceivable durations. The author names it Popular Astronomy; that is, knowledge for the people; and for all the people, not merely the select few. Certainly, and emphatically, among the American people, and measurably throughout the broad earth, the spirit of the age demands light on all possible subjects, and the universal diffusion of light. Nor can we complain that science is slow to respond to the call. She comes out of her cell. "Wisdom crieth without; she uttereth her voice in the streets; she crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates."

And astronomy is not only among the most fascinating of the sciences, but is even better adapted than some others for general cultivation. Mathematics, for instance, deals in abstract numbers and quantities; it requires intense application, and few minds grow enthusiastic over its problems. Chemistry requires costly apparatus and materials. Botany is loaded down with names and definitions, and demands meadow and marsh and forest, and leisure to explore them. But the glorious heaven is over all heads, and open to all eyes. The deep things of astronomy, indeed, involve study such as few are able to devote to them. The time is probably somewhat distant when every village lyceum will own a telescope of twenty-six inch aperture, and the arithmetic class of every country school calculate eclipses. Nevertheless, the sun in its glory, and the moon in its beauty, and the stars in their far-off realms of silence, shine for all; the wandering comets, and the auroral flames, the marvels of the day and the night, and the revolving seasons, are visible to all that look upon them; and the mind must be slow to perceive, and the heart slow to feel, which are not moved by the wonders of earth and sky.

When we hear the Psalmist exclaim: "O Lord, how wondrous are thy works; in wisdom hast thou made them all," we think of the author not as the wise king reigning in Jerusalem, but rather as the simple shepherd-boy, watching his flocks by night in the fields of Bethlehem the Fruitful. In this our day any man of average mental power, and as ignorant on the subject as any such man can be, and yet willing to listen for an hour to a lecturer like Dr. Newcomb, or devote an hour to the thoughtful perusal of a book like his, will go from the lecture, or rise from the book, a larger man, with more of thought and more of mental breadth than he before possessed.

Professor Newcomb divides his work into four parts. The first, entitled, "The System of the World Historically Developed," traces the growth of astronomy as a science. China puts forth claims to the greatest antiquity, asserting that two thousand years before the Christian era the science was cultivated there to such an extent that the Government maintained astronomers, whose duty was to note the motions of the heavenly bodies, and give timely notice of any unusual phenomenon, that the religious ceremonies proper on such occasions might be performed; and that two of these scientific officials, whose names were Hi and Ho, gave themselves up to riotous living, and neglected their duty; and that an eclipse of the sun came which had not been announced, and religious rites were not performed, and the whole empire was consequently exposed to the wrath of the gods, and that the royal scientists were put to death for their crime. This tradition may possibly be authentic. If true, it is the earliest of its kind on record. The Hindus, also, claim to have cultivated astronomy in very ancient times, but their records are vague and unreliable. The Chaldeans and the Egyptians were close observers of the heavenly bodies, and it is surprising to see how much was learned without the aid of telescopes or other instruments now indispensable.

It is, in fact, difficult to tell where or when the science of astronomy originated. As we follow the line back through the ages we find Copernicus learning of Ptolemy, and Ptolemy of Hipparchus, and Hipparchus of Pythagoras, and Pythagoras of Egyptian and Chaldean priests, until all traces are lost in the shadow of wild tradition and fable. Ptolemy, an Egyp-

tian astronomer of the second century after Christ, taught a theory which was universally accepted for fourteen centuries after the death of its author. His system describes the Earth as the center of the universe, and the Sun, Moon, and other heavenly bodies as making a daily revolution around it. In 1543 Copernicus, a Prussian astronomer, published a work entitled, "The Revolution of the Celestial Orbs," in which he attacked, somewhat timidly, the Ptolemaic theory, and advocated another, which places the Sun in the center of the system, and reduces our world to the position of a planet circling about it.

The new view met with great opposition. Every body has heard how Galileo was arrested by the Inquisition, compelled to recant, and to promise, under oath, to teach no more the dangerous doctrines of Copernicus. A fact not so well known is that the opposition was not confined to the reactionary guides of the Romish Church, but was found, also, among scientists and the adherents of the Reformation. Years after the death of Copernicus his theory was debated and opposed; one mighty reasoner among the rest stoutly arguing that the earth cannot revolve daily on its axis, else all manner of confusion would follow; for instance, the sky-lark, rising on its wings to sing its morning carol, would never find its nest again, the revolving surface having meanwhile borne it miles away. The discovery of Newton, that all the worlds of the family to which the Earth belongs are bound together by one law, that of universal gravitation, may be said to complete the theory of the solar system, considered as a piece of enginery. This is the mysterious force which marshals the worlds "in order infinite," and attunes their motions to a harmony which is the true music of the spheres.

Part second treats of Practical Astronomy. Under this head the author discusses the telescope and its uses, also the motion of light, and the spectroscope. When Galileo, in the year 1610, discovered the moons of Jupiter, the instrument which he used magnified objects only thirty times, and was a mere spy-glass. Now the astronomer scans the heavens with telescopes which magnify a thousand times or more. There is, indeed, no theoretical limit to the size of the telescope, and its magnifying power. Herschel is said to have employed the astronomer of the second century after Christ, taught a theory which was universally accepted for fourteen centuries after the death of its author. His system describes the Earth as the center of the universe, and the Sun, Moon, and other heavenly bodies as making a daily revolution around it. In 1543 Copernicus, a Prussian astronomer, published a work entitled, "The Revolution of the Celestial Orbs," in which he attacked, somewhat timidly, the Ptolemaic theory, and advocated another, which places the Sun in the center of the system, and reduces our world to the position of a planet circling about it.

The new view met with great opposition. Every body has heard how Galileo was arrested by the Inquisition, compelled to recant, and to promise, under oath, to teach no more the dangerous doctrines of Copernicus. A fact not so well known is that the opposition was not confined to the reactionary guides of the Romish Church, but was found, also, among scientists and the adherents of the Reformation. Years after the death of Copernicus his theory was debated and opposed; one mighty reasoner among the rest stoutly arguing that the earth cannot revolve daily on its axis, else all manner of confusion would follow; for instance, the sky lark, rising on its wings to sing its morning carol, would never find its nest again, the revolving surface having meanwhile borne it miles away. The discovery of Newton, that all the worlds of the family to which the Earth belongs are bound together by one law, that of universal gravitation, may be said to complete the theory of the solar system, considered as a piece of enginery. This is the mysterious force which marshals the worlds "in order infinite," and attunes their motions to a harmony which is the true music of the spheres.

Part second treats of Practical Astronomy. Under this head the author discusses the telescope and its uses, also the motion of light, and the spectroscope. When Galileo, in the year 1610, discovered the moons of Jupiter, the instrument which he used magnified objects only thirty times, and was a mere spy-glass. Now the astronomer scans the heavens with telescopes which magnify a thousand times or more. There is, indeed, no theoretical limit to the size of the telescope, and its magnifying power. Herschel is said to have employed a power of 6,000 times in one of his great telescopes; but practically it is found that the disturbing influences of the atmosphere are magnified even in a greater ratio when we go beyond a certain limit. A night in which celestial objects appear clear, distinct, and steady under a telescopic power of 400, is regarded as a favorable time for observation, while nights in which a power of 1,000 and over can be employed to advantage are of rare occurrence.

A list of the "Principal Great Telescopes of the World" is given, from which it appears that there are forty-three worthy of mention. Nine of these are reflectors, that is, telescopes which magnify by means of concave mirrors. The largest of these was built by the Earl of Rosse, in Ireland, in 1844, and has an aperture of six feet. The only American instrument of this kind named in the list is of twenty-eight inches aperture, and belongs to Professor Henry Draper, of Dobb's Ferry, New York. Of the thirty-four refractors, magnifying by means of lenses, the two largest in the world are, one in the United States Naval Observatory at Washington, and the other in the Imperial Observatory at Vienna. These have an aperture of twenty-six inches. Of the others, seventeen are in Europe, fourteen in this country, and one in South America. Two of the American telescopes are among the apparatus of the universities at Middletown and Ann Arbor.

One of the chief uses of the telescope, and practically the most important of all, is in measurements, celestial and terrestrial.

> Should the reader ask what Practical Astronomy is, the best answer might be given him by a statement of one of its operations. Place an astronomer on board a ship; blindfold him; carry him by any route to any ocean on the globe, whether under the tropics or in one of the frigid zones; land him on the wildest rock that can be found; remove his bandage, and give him a chronometer regulated to Greenwich or Washington time, a transit instrument with the proper appliances, and the necessary books and tables; and in a single clear night he can tell his position within a hundred yards by observations of the stars. This, from a utilitarian point of view, is one of the most important operations of practical astronomy. —Page 103.

The determination of the distance of the Earth from the Sun is the great problem of astronomical measurement. This

distance, whatever it may be, enters into almost all calculations in regard to the Solar System, and becomes the unit of measurement, when we attempt to estimate the distance of the fixed stars. Till this is ascertained, therefore, we cannot determine the magnitude of the Sun, or the planets, or estimate, with any pretense of probability, the depths of the stellar universe. Aristarchus tried a solution, two thousand years ago, and his crude methods indicated a distance of only five millions of miles. Ptolemy tried another imperfect method, and reached about the same result. This huge mistake remained unchallenged for fourteen centuries after Ptolemy. Huyghens, two hundred years ago, tried the problem in still another way, and estimated the distance to be ninety-nine millions.

One modern method is based upon observations of the parallax of the two planets which from time to time approach nearest the Earth. The first trial of this method was made by French astronomers in 1672, observations of Mars being taken in France, and, also, in South America, by an expedition sent thither for that purpose. The result showed a distance of about eighty-five millions of miles. This estimate was far from being accurate; yet for a hundred years it was regarded as probably near the truth. Meanwhile astronomical instruments and methods were steadily improving, and the attention of scientists was directed to an approaching transit of Venus, as furnishing the means of a solution of the difficult problem. When the transit of 1761 occurred, observations were made in various parts of the world by parties sent out for that purpose by the principal European Governments; but the results so differed that the problem seemed as far from final solution as ever. Another transit of Venus occurred in 1769, and still more extensive arrangements were made for its observation, the Americans, this time, taking part in the work, under the lead of Rittenhouse.

The results of the observations of 1769 agreed better than those of 1761; and yet to utilize these results in fixing the distance of the Sun required the solution of so many intermediate problems that it was not until 1824 that the calculations were completed in a satisfactory manner by Encke, of the Royal Observatory at Berlin. Fixing the value of each observation, and assuming that the average result was nearest the truth, tance, whatever it may be, enters into almost all calculations in regard to the Solar System, and becomes the unit of measurement, when we attempt to estimate the distance of the fixed stars. Till this is ascertained, therefore, we cannot determine the magnitude of the Sun, or the planets, or estimate, with any pretense of probability, the depths of the stellar universe. Aristarchus tried a solution, two thousand years ago, and his clumsy methods indicated a distance of only five millions of miles. Ptolemy tried another imperfect method, and reached about the same result. This huge mistake remained unchallenged for fourteen centuries after Ptolemy. Huyghens, two hundred years ago, tried the problem in still another way, and estimated the distance to be ninety-nine millions.

The modern method is based upon observations of the parallax of the two planets which from time to time approach nearest the Earth. The first trial of this method was made by French astronomers in 1672, observations of Mars being taken in France, and, also, in South America, by an expedition sent thither for that purpose. The result showed a distance of about eighty-five millions of miles. This estimate was far from being accurate; yet for a hundred years it was regarded as probably near the truth. Meanwhile astronomical instruments and methods were steadily improving, and the attention of scientists was directed to an approaching transit of Venus, as furnishing the means of a solution of the difficult problem. When the transit of 1761 occurred, observations were made in various parts of the world by parties sent out for that purpose by the principal European Governments; but the results so differed that the problem seemed as far from final solution as ever. Another transit of Venus occurred in 1769, and still more extensive arrangements were made for its observation, the Americans, this time, taking part in the work, under the lead of Rittenhouse.

The results of the observations of 1769 agreed better than those of 1761; and yet to utilize these results in fixing the distance of the Sun required the solution of so many intermediate problems that it was not until 1824 that the calculations were completed in a satisfactory manner by Encke, of the Royal Observatory at Berlin. Fixing the value of each observation, and assuming that the average result was nearest the truth, the distance of the Sun from the Earth was determined to be 95,370,000 miles. This was accepted as correct; it went into school books and general literature, and remained unquestioned for thirty years.

But Hansen, another German astronomer, after long and careful study of the perturbations of the Moon, announced, in 1854, that the lunar phenomena cannot be explained on the basis of the observations of 1769, and the calculations of Encke, and that an error existed equal to about one thirtieth of the whole distance of the Sun. This statement has been amply confirmed; and to correct the error requires a reduction of the assumed dimensions of the entire solar system. Still, a problem of such importance is worthy of repeated efforts; modern science is content with nothing which falls short of absolute certainty.

In December, 1874, another transit of Venus occurred; and preparations more extensive and elaborate than before were made to observe it. Observations were made by American astronomers at eight different places, all of which are in foreign countries, the transit being invisible on the American continent. Doubtless valuable results have been secured, and will soon be added to our current knowledge; but so much of time and labor is required for comparison of observations, and for mathematical calculations, and so great the honorable ambition of each corps of scientists to do accurate and reliable work, that, so far as we know, no authoritative and final report has yet been made.

Meanwhile the great question has been attacked in two other ways. One is the method indicated by Hansen, which depends on the gravitating force of the Sun upon the Moon. The other seeks to ascertain the velocity of light, which is known, by observations of Jupiter and his moons, to pass from the Sun to the Earth in eight minutes and eighteen seconds. The results of investigation by these two methods do not wholly agree with each other, yet they approximate, indicating an error of about three million miles in the distance of the Sun as calculated by observing the transit of Venus in 1769.

If the recent transit should confirm this correction, quite a long list of new figures must be substituted for those which older scientists have been quoting all their lives. If we are the distance of the Sun from the Earth was determined to be 95,370,000 miles. This was accepted as correct; it went into school books and general literature, and remained unquestioned for thirty years.

But Hansen, another German astronomer, after long and careful study of the perturbations of the Moon, announced, in 1854, that the lunar phenomena cannot be explained on the basis of the observations of 1769, and the calculations of Encke, and that an error existed equal to about one thirtieth of the whole distance of the Sun. This statement has been amply confirmed; and to correct the error require a reduction of the assumed dimensions of the entire solar system. Still, a problem of such importance is worthy of repeated efforts; modern science is content with nothing which falls short of absolute certainty.

In December, 1874, another transit of Venus occurred, and preparations more extensive and elaborate than before were made to observe it. Observations were made by American astronomers at eight different places, all of which are in foreign countries, the transit being invisible on the American continent. Doubtless valuable results have been secured and will soon be added to our current knowledge; but so much of time and labor is required for comparison of observations, and for mathematical calculations, and so great the honorable ambition of each corps of scientists to do accurate and reliable work, that, so far as we know, no authoritative and final report has yet been made.

Meanwhile the great question has been attacked in two other ways. One is the method indicated by Hansen, which depends on the gravitating force of the Sun upon the Moon. The other seeks to ascertain the velocity of light, which is known, by observations of Jupiter and his moons, to pass from the Sun to the Earth in eight minutes and eighteen seconds. The results of investigation by these two methods do not wholly agree with each other, yet they approximate, indicating an error of about three million miles in the distance of the Sun as calculated by observing the transit of Venus in 1769.

If the recent transit should confirm this correction, quite a long list of new figures must be substituted for those which older scientists have been quoting all their lives. If we are three million miles nearer the Sun than we calculated, then the Sun's diameter is about thirty thousand miles less than we concluded it; and Mercury and Venus, and all the planets, are nearer the Sun and all are smaller than we thought them, except the Earth, whose magnitude is ascertained by other methods. The reduction of one thirtieth goes through the whole column. Professor Newcomb regards the new measurements as more reliable than the older, and accordingly adopts them in his description of the solar system.

One of the most interesting applications of the methods of celestial measurement is in the attempt to ascertain the distances of the fixed stars. This problem is far more difficult than the one already described. Professor Newcomb states that, "so far as is known, and beyond all reasonable doubt, the nearest fixed star is *a* Centauri," a constellation of the Southern Hemisphere. The conclusion from a long series of the most careful observations, made with the best instruments, is that the pair of stars which are marked *Alpha* on the maps of the constellation named are distant from us two hundred and twenty-six thousand times the distance of the earth from the Sun. Stated in miles, this is more than twenty millions of millions. Assuming that the investigations of the French scientists have really discovered the velocity of light, estimating it to be one hundred and eighty-six thousand miles in a second of time, this double star, the nearest neighbor of the solar system, is so far away that the rays which enter our eyes as we look upon it have been three years and one hundred and fifty-five days upon their stupendous journey.

The disciples passing out of the magnificent temple which crowned Mount Moriah, and turning to admire and wonder, said, "Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here!" What language shall utter our thought as we survey the vast proportions of God's universe?

A traveler, making a journey by night, looks out of the window of the car, and sees a light some distance from the road, but how far he does not for a moment know. But he knows that the track runs for miles in a straight line. As the rapid train advances, the light seems to swing around toward the rear of the train. The rapidity with which it swings toward the rear furnishes a criterion by which to judge of its dis-

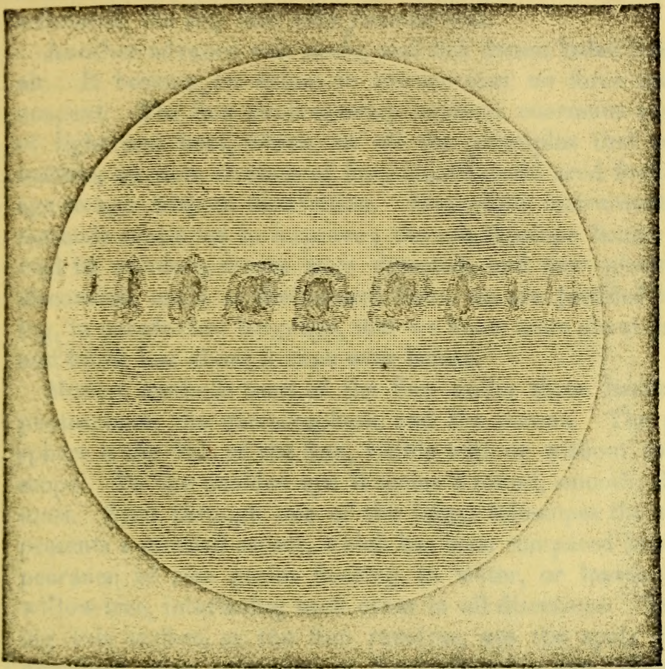
tance. If a few seconds send it out of sight, the light is not far from the railroad. If at the distance of a mile from the first point of observation the traveler still sees it plainly, and almost in the same direction that it was at the beginning, he knows that the light, whatever it may be, is miles away from the line of the road. Give him the proper instruments, and the time and skill to use them, and let him take an observation at each of the mile-posts, and he can tell just how far away the light is which he is watching.

This is the way in which the civil engineer measures his way along from point to point across a continent. This is the way in which the astronomer essays to fathom the depths of space. The Earth is his train. He notes, with his instruments, the exact direction of a star, and six months thereafter looks at the star again. The Earth, meanwhile, has made half its annual revolution, and is now one hundred and eighty-five millions of miles from its former place. This immense distance becomes the base line of his triangulation. And yet, of the myriads of stars visible in these United States, all but about a dozen, when observed with the utmost accuracy, and with the aid of the best telescopes that modern skill can produce, seem not to have changed their apparent direction a hair's breadth.

Part third describes the Solar System, the little family of worlds, numbering two hundred, and probably more, to which our earth belongs. In this comparatively narrow field scientists have found problems which tax their powers to the uttermost, and some of which are still unsolved. In fact, so many of the older statements have been found clearly incorrect, so many things found doubtful which were once considered settled, so many new questions come up which as yet have found no answer, that the astronomical publications of even twenty-five years ago need corrections and additions on almost every page.

THE SUN.—In regard to the central body of our system modern investigations disprove much and explain little, and the mysteries of this burning mass are denser than ever. In the ages before the invention of the telescope the highest science claimed little beyond what any untaught eye can see. The idea naturally occurring to the mind of an inquirer was that the Sun is an immense orb in a state of intense ignition, perhaps molten;

d that what wesee is the dazzling surface of this fiery ocean. t the telescope reveals spots darker than the surround-



g spaces, and sometimes many thousand miles in diameter. gure 67 shows how a spot may be traced from day to y, as it traverses the disk of the Sun from east to west, its anges revealing the fact that it is a real depression in the minous surface. These spots were at first conjectured to be *riæ*, masses of dross, floating on the burning sea. But closer servation showed that they have a dark center, and lighter rders, and as the Sun revolves assume the different aspects f vast excavations.

To explain these facts the theory was adopted by Herschel d others, that the body of the Sun is invisible, and that the ht and heat come from a luminous atmosphere, the spots ng temporary openings in this atmosphere, disclosing the rker surface of the Sun itself. And astronomers that were vout as well as scientific have fancied that under this glow-

ing canopy of flame, and defended from its fervors by intervening spaces filled with some ethereal fluid that does not permit the intense heat to pass downward, is the home of the redeemed, *the city that hath foundations.*

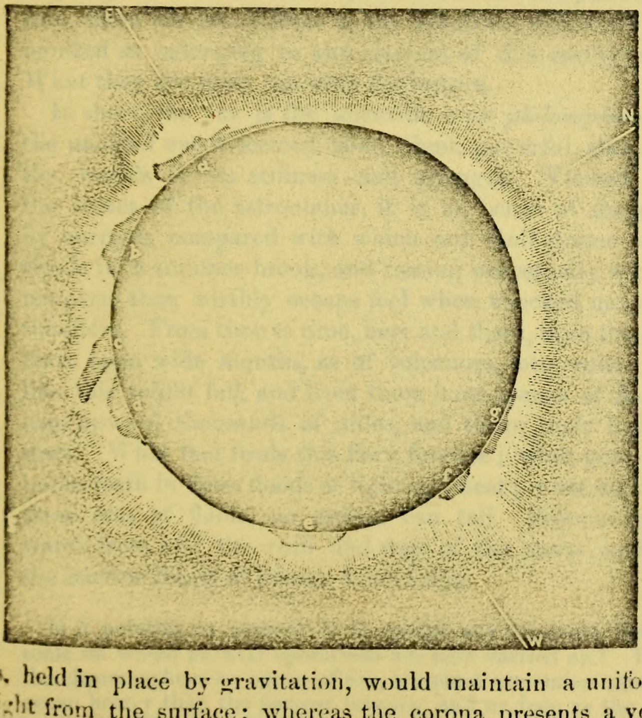
Another advance was made, and this dream faded into thin air. It became an axiom in science that no force operates unspent. The Sun evolves every moment enormous amounts of light and heat, which, on all the principles that science teaches, no mere stratum of fiery clouds could send forth from age to age without diminution. Meanwhile instruments and methods continued to improve; the spectroscope began to reveal its wonders, errors were detected, and new phenomena discovered, until, at the present hour, we are justified in saying, in paradoxical language, that we know more about the Sun and know less about it than ever before.

Modern methods treat of the Sun under three heads: the photosphere, the chromosphere, and the corona. The photosphere is the disk of the Sun, visible with or without the telescope. To the unaided eye it seems a round, smooth, shining mass. Seen through one of the larger telescopes the surface presents a mottled aspect, which has been compared to the appearance of rice grains floating in water, or leaves of the willow-tree, interlacing each other in all directions. Traversing this surface, as the Sun revolves, are the spots already described, often enlarging, or diminishing, or even disappearing as they go. What causes them we know not; science may safely multiply conjectures, because proof and disproof are alike hard to discover.

A few years ago the spots were regarded as furnishing the means of ascertaining the time of the Sun's rotation on its axis; but later observations have demonstrated the surprising fact that the regions nearer the poles revolve more rapidly than the equator. Moreover, the equatorial belt does not seem to rotate always in the same period of time, the variation being sometimes twenty-four or even thirty-six hours. For the cause of this there is not even a plausible conjecture. Faye's idea of ascending and descending currents only originates new questions in regard to the nature of the strata, and the cause of the currents. And then there is something in the color of the lighter portion of the spots which is inexplicable. Instead

of a gradual shading off from the surrounding brightness to the dark center, the border is marked with parallel lines, which give it an appearance like that of the lower edge of a thatched roof.

Besides the wonders on the very surface of the Sun, observations made with powerful instruments in the time of total eclipses have discovered new marvels. At the moment of total obscuration the dark disk of the moon is found to be surrounded with a halo of silvery light. This halo is sometimes seen extending on all sides to the apparent distance of half the diameter of the Sun. What this *corona*, as it is called, is composed of, no one can tell. It is not an atmosphere in any degree like that of the Earth. A stratum of any kind of



gas, held in place by gravitation, would maintain a uniform height from the surface; whereas the corona presents a very irregular outline.

There are, also, visible during total eclipses appearances which have received various names, "prominences," "flames,"

"protuberances," etc. These sometimes rise to the enormous height of fifty thousand miles above the surface of the Sun.

When astronomers discovered them, the first thought was that they are clouds of some sort, floating upward from the fiery deep, and reflecting its rosy light. The spectroscope shows that this is an error, and that these enormous columns, fantastic and variable in their forms, are masses of hydrogen gas, so hot as to shine by their own light. And nearer the body of the Sun, close above the burning surface, there seems to be a stratum of this same gas, intensely heated, from which shoot up, from time to time, these mighty tongues of flame. This is called the *chromosphere.* The spectroscope reveals another fact. While it shows that hydrogen, iron, and some other substances well known to us, enter into the composition of the Sun, there are many lines in the spectrum which are not recognized as belonging to any element of this earthly creation. What they are none can even conjecture.

In short, the sun is the scientific *crux philosophorum.* To the unaided eye it seemed calm, silent, powerful, shining upon the worlds in its stillness and strength. Viewed through the lenses of the astronomer, it is an ocean of flame, swept by currents compared with which our Gulf-stream is only a ripple in a summer brook, and tossing perpetually with wilder tempests than earthly oceans feel when wrecked navies strew the shore. From time to time, here and there, from the hot deep there open wide mouths, as of volcanoes, into which a world like this might fall, and from them issue masses of flame that leap upward thousands of miles, and throw their light to the stars. What fuel feeds this fiery furnace; what power within bursts forth in these floods of light and heat; what winds sweep these seas of flame, no mortal can tell. Science can only watch from afar the rush and rage of the storm, and realize the narrow limits of human knowledge.

> Is it possible to present in language any adequate idea of the scale on which natural operations are here carried on? If we call the chromosphere an ocean of fire, we must remember that it is an ocean hotter than the fiercest furnace, and as deep as the Atlantic is broad. If we call its movements hurricanes, we must remember that our hurricanes blow only about a hundred miles an hour, while those of the chromosphere blow as far in a single second. They are such hurricanes as, "coming down upon us from the

earth, would, in thirty seconds after they had crossed the St. Lawrence, be in the Gulf of Mexico, carrying with them the whole surface of the continent in a mass, not simply of ruin, but of glowing vapor, in which the vapors arising from the dissolution of the materials composing the cities of Boston, New York, and Chicago, would be mixed in a single, indistinguishable cloud." When we speak of eruptions, we call to mind Vesuvius burying the surrounding cities in lava; but the solar eruptions, thrown fifty thousand miles high, would ingulf the whole earth, and dissolve every organized being on its surface in a moment. When the mediæval poets sung

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet sæclum in favilla,

they gave rein to their wildest imagination, without reaching any conception of the magnitude or fierceness of the flames around the sun.—P. 262.

With this eloquent passage from the author we leave the vast problem. What science may hereafter achieve we know not; nor is it safe to say at what point its victories must cease. We can only say that in the present state of science the solar mysteries are not solved. Professor Newcomb gives the views of four distinguished students of the Sun, Rev. Father Secchi, of Rome; M. Faye, of Paris; Professor Young, of Dartmouth College; and Professor Langley, of Allegheny Observatory; to which the still later theory of Dr. Henry Draper, of New York, is appended, stating his discovery of glowing oxygen in the Sun, by means of the spectroscope. These theories differ one from another in some degree, and from some of the views expressed by our author; but these differences only reveal more clearly the magnitude of the difficulty. The spirit of all these able men is well expressed in a single sentence of the closing paragraph of Professor Young's paper: "Such, in brief, are my opinions; but many of them I hold with little confidence and tenacity, and anxiously await more light." This modesty distinguishes the true scientist from the pretender. A quack knows every thing.

The Planets.—As has been already stated, investigation has found an error in the former measurements of the Solar System, and we are compelled to reduce the figures all along the line. These later investigations have detected some other errors, and made important discoveries, and achieved great advances; and yet, as regards the sum of what we think we ents, would, in thirty seconds after they had crossed the St. Lawrence, be in the Gulf of Mexico, carrying with them the whole surface of the continent in a mass, not simply of ruin, but of glowing vapor, in which the vapors arising from the dissolution of the materials composing the cities of Boston, New York, and Chicago, would be mixed in a single, indistinguishable cloud." When we speak of eruptions, we call to mind Vesuvius burying the surrounding cities in lava; but the solar eruptions, thrown fifty thousand miles high, would ingulf the whole earth, and dissolve every organized being on its surface in a moment. When the mediæval poets sung

> *Dies iræ, dies illa*
> *Solvet sæclum in favilla,*

they gave rein to their wildest imagination, without reaching any conception of the magnitude or fierceness of the flames around the sun.—P. 263.

With this eloquent passage from the author we leave the vast problem. What science may hereafter achieve we know not; nor is it safe to say at what point its victories must cease. We can only say that in the present state of science the solar mysteries are not solved. Professor Newcomb gives the views of four distinguished students of the Sun, Rev. Father Secchi, of Rome; M. Faye, of Paris; Professor Young, of Dartmouth College; and Professor Langley, of Allegheny Observatory; to which the still later theory of Dr. Henry Draper, of New York, is appended, stating his discovery of glowing oxygen in the Sun, by means of the spectroscope. These theories differ one from another in some degree, and from some of the views expressed by our author; but these differences only reveal more clearly the magnitude of the difficulty. The spirit of all these able men is well expressed in a single sentence of the closing paragraph of Professor Young's paper: "Such, in brief, are my opinions; but many of them I hold with little confidence and tenacity, and anxiously await more light." This modesty distinguishes the true scientist from the pretender. A quack knows every thing.

THE PLANETS.—As has been already stated, investigation has found an error in the former measurements of the Solar System, and we are compelled to reduce the figures all along the line. These later investigations have detected some other errors, and made important discoveries, and achieved great advances; and yet, as regards the sum of what we think we know, it is a question whether the new facts added, or the old supposed facts to be thrown overboard, are the more numerous.

Mercury was formerly supposed to give indications of an atmosphere. At the beginning of the century Schröter thought he saw mountains twelve miles high on this planet; and, by watching them from night to night, figured out the time of Mercury's daily revolution, computing it to be twenty-four hours and five minutes. More modern astronomers, with better instruments, have not found these lofty mountains, nor seen signs of an atmosphere; nor do they know certainly the length of its day. From time to time, for the last hundred years, publication has been made of the discovery of one or more planets revolving in orbits between Mercury and the Sun. The best observers of the present day have not discovered them, and we can only conclude, at present, that there are none.

Venus has long been supposed to be surrounded by an atmosphere; and the observations of 1874 are held to establish the fact. Some other suppositions of the past have not stood the test. Schröter thought that he proved the existence of mountains twenty miles high on the surface of this planet, and, watching them from day to day, concluded that Venus revolves on its own axis in twenty-three hours and twenty-one minutes. Astronomers of our own day, aided by better instruments, fail to discover these lofty mountains; nor can they fix on any thing by which the time of rotation may be ascertained.

Cassini, two hundred years ago, fancied that he saw a satellite of Venus. During the next century several observers imagined that they, also, saw it; and one astronomer proceeded to compute its orbit. It cannot be found now, and seems to have been nothing but a myth at any time. About the only real addition recently made to our knowledge of this body is the fact, shown by the spectroscope, that its atmosphere is composed of materials similar to the atmosphere of our Earth. If this is so, the supposition is not an extravagant one, that Venus is a world much like our own, perhaps peopled by similar living beings.

In regard to the Earth, the principal new fact is the one already given, the conclusion that the distance from the Sun is not as great, by three millions of miles, as former figures stated

The results of the observations of 1874 will soon be at hand, to confirm or modify this estimate. On a certain question, which is geological rather than astronomical, and yet bears directly on the theory of the formation of the Solar system, Professor Newcomb is quite explicit. He accepts the theory that the interior of the earth is intensely hot, perhaps molten.

It is well known that as we descend into the solid portions of the Earth there is a uniform rise in the temperature, equal to one degree of Fahrenheit for every fifty feet, or one hundred degrees to the mile. The author says that "we have every reason to believe" that this increase "continues many miles into the interior. Then we shall have a red heat at the distance of twelve miles; while at the depth of one hundred miles the temperature will be so high as to melt most of the materials which form the solid crust of the globe."—Pp. 299. Hot springs, volcanoes, and earthquakes give strong evidence to sustain this view. Still, there is evidence adverse to the idea of a wholly molten interior. If the entire globe, with the exception of a crust fifty or a hundred miles in thickness, were liquid, the tides would effect the whole mass, and not the oceans only. The solid crust would rise and fall, the land as well as the sea, and no tides be seen along the shore.

In discussing things pertaining to the Earth, the author treats of the Aurora Borealis. The number of comparatively new facts in regard to it is not large, yet they are interesting. Observations made at the same time from distant points show that the visible phenomena take place from four hundred to six hundred miles above the surface of the Earth. They are rarely seen near the Earth's equator, but are most frequent, not at the extreme north, but in the region of the Arctic circle. It may be regarded as certain that the Aurora is electric in its nature, and is closely connected with terrene magnetism. The auroral light has been examined with the spectroscope, and is found to exhibit some new lines, which wait, and may wait long, for explanation.

To our knowledge of the Moon modern researches seem to have added little. There is no evidence of the existence of an atmosphere, no indications of change of any kind upon its surface. We are indebted to it for its silvery light; it heaves the es. The results of the observations of 1874 will soon be at hand, to confirm or modify this estimate. On a certain question, which is geological rather than astronomical, and yet bears directly on the theory of the formation of the Solar System, Professor Newcomb is quite explicit. He accepts the theory that the interior of the earth is intensely hot, perhaps molten:

It is well known that as we descend into the solid portions of the Earth there is a uniform rise in the temperature, equal to one degree of Fahrenheit for every fifty feet, or one hundred degrees to the mile. The author says that "we have every reason to believe" that this increase "continues many miles into the interior. Then we shall have a red heat at the distance of twelve miles; while at the depth of one hundred miles the temperature will be so high as to melt most of the materials which form the solid crust of the globe."—P. 298. Hot springs, volcanoes, and earthquakes give strong evidence to sustain this view. Still, there is evidence adverse to the idea of a wholly molten interior. If the entire globe, with the exception of a crust fifty or a hundred miles in thickness, were liquid, the tides would effect the whole mass, and not the oceans only. The solid crust would rise and fall, the land as well as the sea, and no tides be seen along the shore.

In discussing things pertaining to the Earth, the author treats of the Aurora Borealis. The number of comparatively new facts in regard to it is not large, yet they are interesting. Observations made at the same time from distant points show that the visible phenomena take place from four hundred to six hundred miles above the surface of the Earth. They are rarely seen near the Earth's equator, but are most frequent, not at the extreme north, but in the region of the Arctic circle. It may be regarded as certain that the Aurora is electric in its nature, and is closely connected with terrene magnetism. The auroral light has been examined with the spectroscope, and is found to exhibit some new lines, which wait, and may wait long, for explanation.

To our knowledge of the Moon modern researches seem to have added little. There is no evidence of the existence of an atmosphere, no indications of change of any kind upon its surface. We are indebted to it for its silvery light; it causes the ocean tides. The question is raised whether, by its attractive force upon the molten portion of the Earth's interior, it may not have an influence upon the phenomena of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions; but this is about all we can attribute to it. Careful observation has established the fact that the Moon's influence on the weather is not appreciable.

Mars assumes new prominence at the present time from the discovery of its moons. On the night of August 11, 1877, Professor Hall, of the Naval Observatory at Washington, was searching the neighborhood of Mars with the great telescope, and discovered near it a small body, which repeated observations showed to be a satellite of that planet. On the following night another satellite was discovered by the observers at Washington. These moons are the smallest, the nearest to their primary, and the swiftest in their revolutions, of all that are known. In the largest telescopes they appear only as mere brilliant points, and their size can only be guessed at from the amount of light they give.

The inner moon is, perhaps, twenty-five miles in diameter, is about four thousand miles distant from the surface of the planet, and revolves around it in seven hours and thirty-eight minutes. The outer one is smaller, perhaps twelve or fifteen miles in diameter, and revolves about its primary in thirty hours and fourteen minutes. The smallness of these bodies, and their proximity to the planet, rendered their discovery the more difficult, and its achievement the more creditable to the astronomer to whom this honor has fallen. It should be stated, also, that the discovery was not accidental, but that Professor Hall was looking for the very objects which he found. As an American, and as such by no means indifferent in regard to the reputation which Americans maintain in the world of science, we are happy here to put on record one of the most remarkable astronomic discoveries of the age, and point to it as proof that American scientists hold a place among the leaders in the march of intelligence.

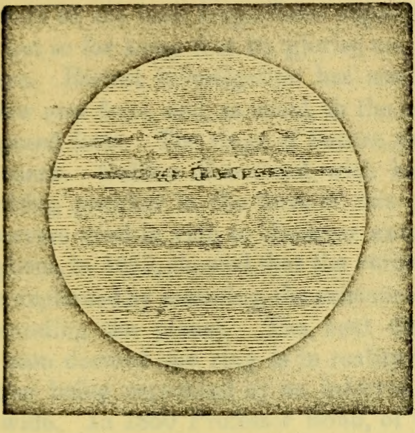
The Asteroids, a group of small bodies, which are invisible to the unaided eye, and whose orbits lie between those of Mars and Jupiter, have been found within a few years to be a far more numerous family than had been suspected. Taking the Solar System as it appears to the eye, Mercury revolves at a

distance of forty millions of miles from the Sun, Venus sixty-seven millions, Earth ninety-two and a half millions, Mars one hundred and forty-one millions; and then, across a great gap of three hundred and forty millions of miles beyond Mars, we find the planet Jupiter, at the distance of four hundred and eighty millions. For two hundred years after Copernicus astronomers pondered over this vast wilderness of space, and wondered if it could be as empty as it seemed. It was conjectured that there must be a planet which had not yet been discovered; and in the year 1800 an association was formed to search the heavens for it.

On New-Year's Day, 1801, the first day of the nineteenth century, Piazzi, an Italian astronomer, discovered a new planet, which traverses the spaces that had seemed to be void. This new world he named Ceres. Within seven years three others were found, and named Pallas, Juno, and Vesta. In 1845 another was discovered, and since then discoveries have followed in rapid succession, until one hundred and seventy-five asteroids have been found and named, while indefinite possibilities remain. Of the asteroids discovered within the last ten years nearly half have been found by American astronomers. These planets are remarkable for their small size, which is estimated from the amount of light which they reflect. The largest cannot be more than three or four hundred miles in diameter, while the smallest seem no larger than the satellites of Mars.

Jupiter, under the new measurement, is eighty-five thousand miles in diemeter, and four hundred and eighty millions of miles from the Sun. As in the case of the Sun, recent investigation has raised more questions than it has answered. The Moon has a variegated surface, which seems to remain the same from age to age. Mars has darker and lighter shadings and spots, which appear to be permanent. Jupiter, on the other hand, changes its appearance under the telescope almost from night to night. Broad bands, darker than the general surface, and parallel with its equator, stretch across the disk of the planet. These belts are most distinctly marked ten or twenty degrees on each side of the equator; and the intervening spaces sometimes assume a rosy tinge. Dark spots, which are less changeable, are, also, seen at times.

These varying appearances indicate that we seldom or never see the solid body of Jupiter, but only the surface of an exceedingly dense atmosphere, filled with vapor, and subject to action of some kind which keeps it in a state of constant agitation. Its density, that is, its weight in proportion to its size, is small, only about one sixth of that of the Earth. These changes from white to a reddish hue in the equatorial regions, with the occasional appearance of bright spots here and there, have suggested the idea that Jupiter is still intensely hot on the very surface, and in places incandescent. Thus, on a reduced scale, its phenomena seem to resemble those of the Sun; and, like them, are beyond the reach of explanation. From the motions of the more permanent spots, the time of rotation has been estimated at 9 hours 55½ minutes.



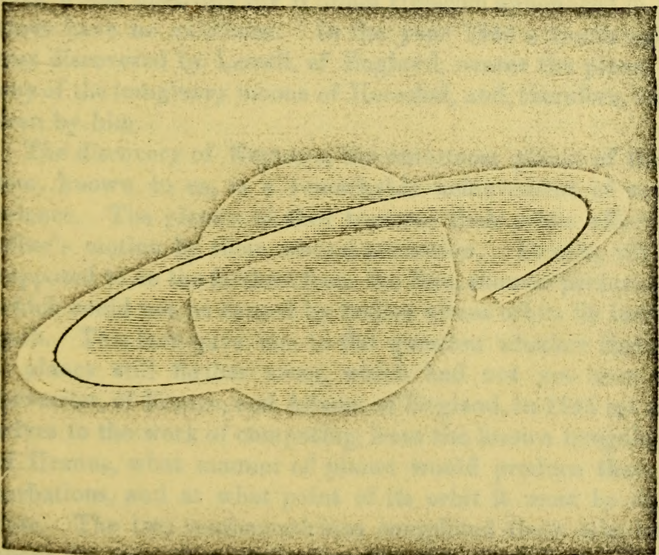
One of the most puzzling phenomena of the Sun is seen, also, in Jupiter; the equatorial regions rotate irregularly, and in less time than other parts of the disk. Jupiter has five moons, the smallest about the size of ours, and the largest nearly twice the diameter, which revolve around their primary in periods varying from two to seventeen of our days. The new and surprising discovery in regard to them is, they show great and sudden changes in their brilliancy. The best explanation offered is that the surface of the moons is not uniform in material or color, and, therefore, some parts reflect light better than others. They are so distant that our best telescopes have

These varying appearances indicate that we seldom or never see the solid body of Jupiter, but only the surface of an ex-

ceedingly dense atmosphere, filled with vapor, and subject to action of some kind which keeps it in a state of constant agitation. Its density, that is, its weight in proportion to its size, is small, only about one sixth of that of the Earth. These changes from white to a reddish hue in the equatorial regions, with the occasional appearance of bright spots here and there, have suggested the idea that Jupiter is still intensely hot on the very surface, and in places incandescent. Thus, on a reduced scale, its phenomena seem to resemble those of the Sun; and, like them, are beyond the reach of explanation. From the motions of the more permanent spots, the time of rotation has been estimated at 9 hours 55½ minutes.

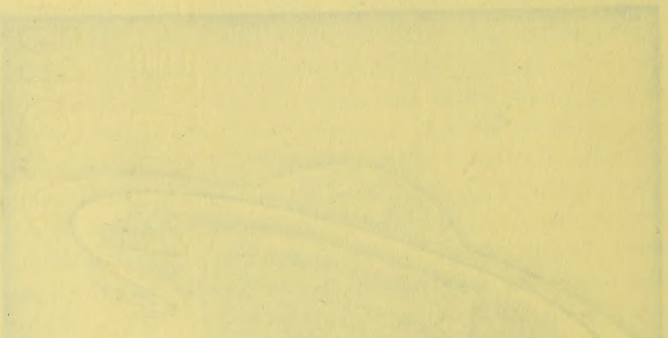
One of the most puzzling phenomena of the Sun is seen, also, in Jupiter; the equatorial regions rotate irregularly, and in less time than other parts of the disk. Jupiter has five moons, the smallest about the size of ours, and the largest nearly twice the diameter, which revolve around their primary in periods varying from two to seventeen of our days. The new and surprising discovery in regard to them is, they show great and sudden changes in their brilliancy. The best explanation offered is that the surface of the moons is not uniform in material or color, and, therefore, some parts reflect light better than others. They are so distant that our best telescopes have thus far furnished no grounds for either the establishment or the rejection of this conjecture.

Saturn, with its immense magnitude, its broad rings and eight moons, would be the most magnificent object in the solar family, were it not so far away that its glories are invisible to the common eye. Recent investigation has resulted in the discovery of a few new facts, and, as usual, in the overthrow of some older supposed facts. The rings of Saturn are its grand distinguishing mark. Galileo discovered with his imperfect telescope something peculiar in the form of this planet; and succeeding observers tried in vain to discover exactly what it was until Huyghens, in 1655, showed that the various apparent shapes could be explained by assuming the existence of a broad, thin ring surrounding the planet. The next discovery was that what had been deemed one ring is in reality two, the inner and the outer being separated by an interval some thousands of miles wide. In 1850 Professor Bond, of Cambridge, announced the discovery of a third ring, within the other two, and not so bright. In 1851 Struve claimed to have ascertained that the rings are steadily contracting, the inner edge gradually approaching the planet.



thus far furnished no ground; for either the establishment or the rejection of this conjecture.

Saturn, with its immense magnitude, its broad rings and eight moons, would be the most magnificent object in the solar family, were it not so far away that its glories are invisible to the common eye. Recent investigation has resulted in the discovery of a few new facts, and, as usual, in the overthrow of some older supposed facts. The rings of Saturn are its grand distinguishing mark. Galileo discovered with his imperfect telescope something peculiar in the form of this planet; and succeeding observers tried in vain to discover exactly what it was until Huyghens, in 1655, showed that the various apparent shapes could be explained by assuming the existence of a broad, thin ring surrounding the planet. The next discovery was that what had been deemed one ring is in reality two, the inner and the outer being separated by an interval some thousands of miles wide. In 1850 Professor Bond, of Cambridge,



announced the discovery of a third ring, within the other two, and not so bright. In 1851 Struve claimed to have ascertained that the rings are steadily contracting, the inner edge gradually approaching the planet.

These rings were at first supposed to be solid, but it was soon shown that solid rings could not be held in place by gravitation. Then came the inference that they must be fluid, but this theory is, also, unsatisfactory. The final conclusion is that the rings are composed of myriads of minute satellites, too small to be visible singly, and so numerous as to assume the appearance of solid and continuous rings. Saturn revolves on its own axis in ten hours and fourteen minutes, and around the Sun in twenty-nine and a half of our years. If it has intelligent inhabitants, its evenings, in certain seasons of its year, must be to them beautiful beyond description, its many moons shining in the sky, and the rings spanning the heavens with their broad arch of silvery light.

In regard to Uranus, advancing science has taken away more than it has imparted. Its distance from the sun, one thousand seven hundred and seventy millions of miles, is about sixty millions less than former estimates, and of the six satellites, whose discovery Sir William Herschel announced in 1787, three have no existence. In the year 1846 a fourth satellite was discovered by Lassell, of England, nearer the planet than any of the imaginary moons of Herschel, and, therefore, one not seen by him.

The discovery of Neptune, the outermost planet of the system, known to us, is a remarkable achievement of modern science. The planets as they traverse their orbits affect each other's motion by their mutual attraction. Uranus, till 1846 supposed to be the farthest from the Sun, showed perturbations which could not be caused by bodies whose orbits lie inside its path. This fact gave rise to the question whether there was a planet still farther away, which had not yet been seen. Leverrier, of France, and Adams, of England, in 1845 set themselves to the work of computing, from the known irregularities of Uranus, what manner of planet would produce these perturbations, and at what point of its orbit it must be at that date. The two mathematicians completed their calculations about the same time, indicating that the planet ought to be in a certain quarter of the heavens. Astronomers turned their telescope to the place pointed out, and there was the new planet, at a distance of two thousand eight hundred millions of miles from the solar center. This discovery was made in

September, 1846. The next year, a satellite of Neptune, as the new planet has been named, was discovered by Mr. Lassell, of Maidenhead, England.

From this hasty survey of the Solar System, as delineated by Professor Newcomb, it is evident that so great advances have been made by astronomy, that the facts and figures of even twenty-five years ago are no longer quotable, unless newly verified. This state of things is nothing new. The march of intelligence is steady and remorseless. Dreams are dissipated, errors fall, and knowledge grows. The day advances, and things which put on one appearance in the twilight wear another at sunrise. One great duty of the scientists of every age is to correct the mistakes of those who preceded them, and to do it modestly, in the full persuasion that their own work will be as mercilessly revised by those who come after them. In science the classic myth of Saturn's devouring his children must be reversed. The newborn ages devour their progenitors.

Our author treats of comets, meteors and shooting stars, in a manner which is not only interesting, but as thorough as the proposed size of the volume admits. One new phenomenon may here be cited in proof of the fact that the celestial enginery is not the changeless thing that some imagine it. Biela's comet, which was seen in 1772, and which was observed from time to time for eighty years, as it returned at intervals of a little less than seven years, separated into two parts in January, 1846. These were seen again in 1852, more widely separated than before, but have never been seen since, unless, as is argued with some show of proof, some of its fragments floated across the path of the Earth, and produced the meteoric shower which occurred on the night of November 27, 1872.

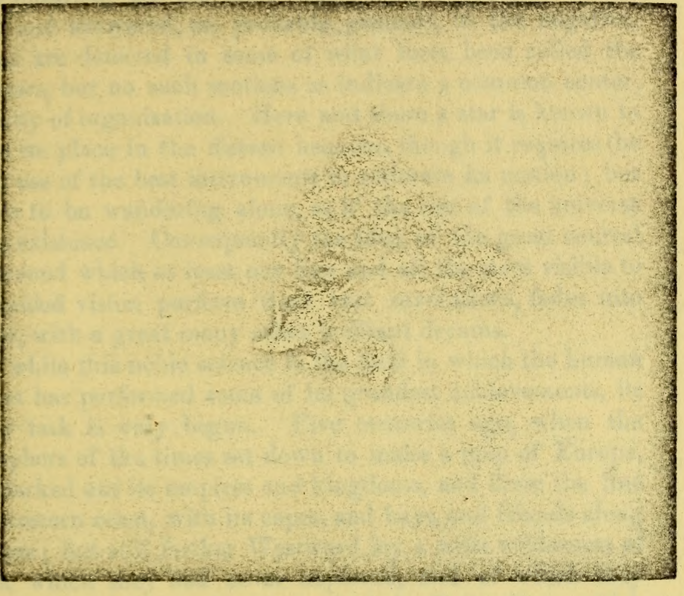
Part fourth discusses the stellar universe, and is so full of marvels that we know not how to select from its richness. The theories of Kant and Herschel are described, in regard to the way in which the universe was formed. The author also treats of the number of the stars, the constellations, new and variable stars, double stars, binary systems, clusters of stars, nebulæ, and the motions of the stars. "The representation which we give in Figure 104 is from a drawing made by Mr. Trouvelot with the great Washington telescope. In

September, 1846. The next year, a satellite of Neptune, as the new planet has been named, was discovered by Mr. Lassell, of Maidenhead, England.

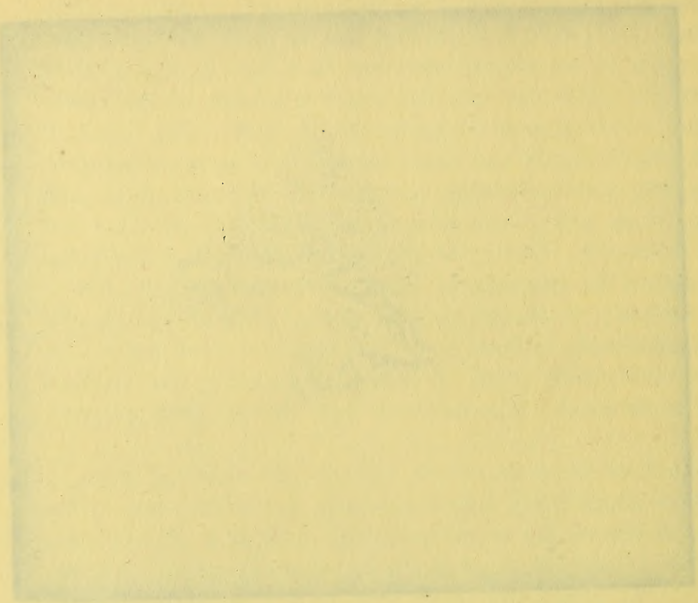
From this hasty survey of the Solar System, as delineated by Professor Newcomb, it is evident that so great advances have been made by astronomy, that the facts and figures of even twenty-five years ago are no longer quotable, unless newly verified. This state of things is nothing new. The march of intelligence is steady and remorseless. Dreams are dissipated, errors fall, and knowledge grows. The day advances, and things which put on one appearance in the twilight wear another at sunrise. One great duty of the scientists of every age is to correct the mistakes of those who preceded them, and to do it modestly, in the full persuasion that their own work will be as mercilessly revised by those who come after them. In science the classic myth of Saturn's devouring his children must be reversed. The newborn ages devour their progenitors.

Our author treats of comets, meteors and shooting stars, in a manner which is not only interesting, but as thorough as the proposed size of the volume admits. One new phenomenon may here be cited in proof of the fact that the celestial enginery is not the changeless thing that some imagine it. Biela's comet, which was seen in 1772, and which was observed from time to time for eighty years, as it returned at intervals of a little less than seven years, separated into two parts in January, 1846. These were seen again in 1852, more widely separated than before, but have never been seen since, unless, as is argued with some show of proof, some of its fragments floated across the path of the Earth, and produced the meteoric shower which occurred on the night of November 27, 1872.

Part fourth discusses the stellar universe, and is so full of marvels that we know not how to select from its richness. The theories of Kant and Herschel are described, in regard to the way in which the universe was formed. The author also treats of the number of the stars, the constellations, new and variable stars, double stars, binary systems, clusters of stars, nebulæ, and the motions of the stars. "The representation which we give in Figure 104 is from a drawing made by Mr. Trouvelot with the great Washington telescope. In brilliancy and variety of detail" the great nebula of Orion "exceeds any nebula visible in the Northern Hemisphere."—Page 447.



It is added that the spectroscope shows the lines which indicate burning hydrogen, and, perhaps, nitrogen, and, therefore, there is "a certain probability" that this nebula is a mixture of these gases. Without any pretense of being as able to judge of these things as Professor Newcomb, we feel free to say that the gas theory, on his own methods of reasoning, seems to have a very slight foundation. The reader will remember that Herschel's theory that the light and heat came to us, not from the body of the sun itself, but from an atmosphere of fiery vapors surrounding it, while the central mass may be relatively dark and cool, was condemned on the ground that no such atmosphere could send forth, from age to age, without perceptible diminution, such floods of light and heat. How, then, can a mere cloud of hydrogen, immeasurably more distant than the sun, shine on us, from age to age, with undimmed radiance? What keeps it in an incandescent state? Above all, how can a mass of mere vapor, subject to no brilliancy and variety of detail" the great nebula of Orion "exceeds any nebula visible in the Northern Hemisphere."—Page 447.



It is added that the spectroscope shows the lines which indicate burning hydrogen, and, perhaps, nitrogen, and, therefore, there is "a certain probability" that this nebula is a mixture of these gases. Without any pretense of being as able to judge of these things as Professor Newcomb, we feel free to say that the gas theory, on his own methods of reasoning, seems to have a very slight foundation. The reader will remember that Herschel's theory that the light and heat come to us, not from the body of the sun itself, but from an atmosphere of fiery vapors surrounding it, while the central mass may be relatively dark and cool, was condemned on the ground that no such atmosphere could send forth, from age to age, without perceptible diminution, such floods of light and heat. How, then, can a mere cloud of hydrogen, immeasurably more distant than the sun, shine on us, from age to age, with undimmed radiance? What keeps it in an incandescent state? Above all, how can a mass of mere vapor, subject to the forces but such as the component floating atoms exert upon each other, maintain unchanged the very peculiar shape which this nebula bears?

The question, Do the stars really form a system? is discussed, and answered, on probable grounds, in the negative. Motions are detected in some of what have been called the fixed stars, but no such motions as indicate a common center, or a unity of organization. Here and there a star is known to change its place in the distant heavens, though it requires the skillful use of the best instruments to estimate its motion; but it seems to be wandering alone, as if the rest of the universe had no existence. Consequently the idea of the great central Sun, around which at least our Sun and all the stars visible to the unaided vision perform their vast revolutions, fades into thin air, with a great many other brilliant dreams.

But while this noble science is the field in which the human intellect has performed some of its grandest achievements, its mighty task is only begun. Five centuries ago, when the geographers of the times sat down to make a map of Europe, they marked out its empires and kingdoms, and drew the line of its western coast, with its capes, and bays, and islands along the shore; but still farther Westward lay a wide wilderness of waters, which they had never explored, and of which they knew nothing. They, therefore, shaded off the lines which indicated the ocean, and on the blank spaces beyond wrote honest and significant words, *Mare Tenebrosum*, the Dark Sea. Thus, with all the light of our age, after all the triumphs that science has won, there still rolls around us, on every side, the great deep of the unknown; and though adventurous navigators are launching forth upon it, and discovering new islands, and even broad continents, of knowledge, we shall never cast anchor at the farther shore.

Another important point may properly be mentioned in this connection: the bearing of modern scientific discovery upon revealed truth. Our author does not introduce this question. His work is on astronomy, not religion. It is the province of the scientist to push his inquiries in every direction. He is justified in looking for a physical cause for every physical effect, and in tracing the succession backward just as far as he feels solid ground under his feet. We have no fears

that discovered truth will ever conflict with revealed truth. The multiplication table will never refute conic sections. The intelligent Christian believer hears with unalloyed pleasure of the brilliant discoveries of our age, and cherishes the hope of still greater advances in coming years.

There has never been a conflict between true science and true religion. There have, indeed, been collisions between scientists and ecclesiastics; but this does not prove the charge. The collisions of scientists among themselves have been far more numerous and far more bitter. When Galileo published his discovery of the moons of Jupiter, there was at first a general expression of incredulity; and one astronomer refused to look through the telescope, lest he should see and be convinced. Men become famous for their acquaintance with the science of their times; and when some advance is made which calls upon them to retract, and reconstruct, and become learners again, they are slow to surrender their honors.

It is said that when Harvey, in 1628, published his discovery of the circulation of the blood, no physician forty years old at that time ever believed it. The professors in the medical colleges of the Continent attacked him, and in London itself, notwithstanding court favor, his professional practice declined. When Jenner, in 1796, introduced vaccination as a preventive of small-pox, he was treated with derision; a medical society with which he was connected threatened to expel him; and the medical profession generally, both in England and the United States, vigorously resisted all attempts to introduce the "diabolical" device.

Professor Newcomb nowhere directly avows his belief in the Hebrew Scriptures, but he takes positions which can in nowise be reconciled with atheism. The idea that the whole Solar System once existed as an immense volume of glowing gas, and became what we find it by a process which occupied a million ages, is not irreconcilable with the first two verses of Genesis. If it can be shown that the germs of the various forms of life now existing were gradually evolved by forces working in the primordial atoms, the next twenty verses do not deny it. And the idea that the Creator made the worlds by gradual process, first calling into being the glowing mass of vapor, and clothing its myriad atoms with all the possibilities of the com-

ted work, is really an exalted conception of His boundless intelligence and infinite power.

We count these evolution theories "the stuff that dreams are made of;" but, whether verities or dreams, they are logically theistic. To be eternal, things must be changeless. If the visible creation is the product of lengthened processes, it surely had a beginning. Prove any sort of process which advances by successive stages, and you prove a beginner as well as a beginning. The teachings of science are very significant in another direction; they assure us that, left to itself, and as controlled by the laws of matter only, the whole visible universe must come to an end.

> All modern science seems to point to the finite duration of our system in its present form, and to carry us back to the time when neither Sun nor planet existed, save as a mass of glowing gas. How far back that was it cannot tell us with certainty; it can only say the period is counted by millions of years, but, probably, not by hundreds of millions. It also points forward to the time when Sun and stars shall fade away, and nature shall be enshrouded in darkness and death, unless some power now unseen shall uphold or restore her.—Page 489.
>
> The progressive change exhibited by the operations of nature consists in a constant transformation of motion into heat, and the constant loss of that heat by radiation. As Sir William Thompson has expressed it, a constant "dissipation of energy" is going on in nature. We all know that the Sun has been radiating heat into space during the whole course of his existence. . . But it is now known that heat cannot be produced except by the expenditure of force, actual or potential, in some of its forms; it is, also, known that the available supply of force is necessarily limited. . . . Hence, this radiation cannot go on forever unless the force expended in producing the heat be returned to the Sun in some form. That it is not now so returned we may regard as morally certain.—P. 500.

That which approaches an end must certainly have had a beginning. If it had existed from all eternity, then the processes which bring it to an end would have been completed, and the end reached, a whole eternity ago. We have, then, as the result of the boldest research, and the severest logic of modern science, the conclusion that the visible universe had a beginning, and, unless sustained by a power above itself, must end in universal darkness and death. Spencer himself admits that nature tends to universal equilibrium, and that universal equilibrium is the cessation of light and heat, and all the

forms of life which depend upon them. Thus science and religion, so far from being hostile to each other, are seen to be in perfect accord, science laying her trophies at the feet of religion, and religion crowning science as a true interpreter of the divine workmanship.

But if this is so, it may be asked, Why do we not find the language of revelation clearly adjusted to the facts of modern science, or even some of those facts incorporated into the Scripture itself? This, for many reasons, would be unwise.

1. The word of God is not given to teach the whole circle and sum of human knowledge, but only one branch of it, which transcends in value all the rest. What we most need to know, in addition to what every man's senses teach him, is the being and nature of God, our origin and immortality, the fall, the plan of salvation, the true standard of right living, and the nature of the life which lies beyond death. These we need to know now; the joys of scientific research we may learn hereafter. One volume suffices to show us God: whole libraries are needed to explain the work of his hands.

2. If the word of God had contained statements of things, as modern science knows them, those statements would have been for centuries worse than useless. Some would long remain words utterly without meaning to them who read them, and, in the hands of dreamy interpreters, a fruitful source of wild and fantastic doctrine. Others would have been cited by opposers as proof positive that the Scriptures are false. To say that the Earth revolves around the Sun is to contradict what the Hottentot sees, or thinks he sees, with his own eyes. If the psalmist, "considering the heavens," had said, as our author does, that the stars visible to man number, perhaps, fifty millions, all the infidels for twenty-five centuries would have flatly contradicted the statement, and triumphantly pointed to the sky for proof of its falsehood. And when Galileo and his telescope came upon the stage of action, and the existence of the starry myriads is demonstrated, how triumphantly would modern infidels show that the telescope is a recent invention, that David never saw these millions of stars, and, consequently, the Psalms of David are a modern forgery!

3. The fact that the word of God nowhere makes a definite statement which modern science contradicts, is no small proof of

its divine origin. Written, as it was, in an age when the foundations of the sciences were scarcely laid—written by men many of whom were not learned, even according to the low standard of their times—if their pens had not been guided by the Author of nature their errors would have been so numerous and so palpable that their claims to inspiration would have found abundant refutation in their own pages. Every general reader knows that the cosmogonies of the heathen are mere childish fables, hardly up to the level of the nursery story of Jack and the Beanstalk. The sacred books, so called, of the Hindus contain statements so utterly absurd, so fatally at variance with modern knowledge, that every native graduate of the English college at Calcutta leaves the school an unbeliever in the religion of his fathers. They state, for example, that the earth is a circular plane one hundred and seventy millions of miles in diameter, and that there are mountains sixty miles high. The Koran tells of "the seven solid heavens," and of Mohammed's splitting the Moon. If the Bible contained one such childish conceit, how endlessly would skeptics harp upon it! John Bunyan, in one of his religious treatises, gravely informs the reader that the stars are at a prodigious distance from the earth, some of them at least thirty thousand leagues. If Job, speaking of Orion and the Pleiades, had said that, what would be the inference?

A recent instance of the same kind, immeasurably ludicrous because immeasurably pretentious, is found in the writings of the great prophet of spiritism, Andrew Jackson Davis. The introduction of his volume states that in 1845 Davis, then a wholly uneducated young man of about twenty-one years, fell into the trance state, and was inspired by "the spirits" to deliver lectures describing the Sun, Moon, and stars, and the whole system of nature; that an amanuensis wrote, as the spirits inspired, and Davis uttered this supernatural wisdom. Describing the planets in their order, and giving the facts as they were set forth in every school-book of the day, he at length comes to the Asteroids, the *four* Asteroids, and proceeds to assign reasons why there should be just four of them, and no more. His worthless octavo was hardly in type before Hencke, of Dresden, discovered a fifth. Since then, about one hundred and seventy have been discovered, and no one can

conjecture how many more there are. It is not to be supposed that the faith of the dupes of this shallow imposture will be at all weakened by this huge error; but what would be the effect of such a blunder if found in the books of Moses?

In fine, we regard Professor Newcomb's Popular Astronomy as an admirable work, without an equal in the field of popular scientific literature. The author's style is clear, correct, and often eloquent. The one hundred and twelve engravings are unusually good, as may be seen by the five kindly furnished by the publishers for this article, at the request of the writer. The five star maps will aid those who desire to study the heavens for themselves. A glossary of astronomical terms and technical phrases will assist the general reader, while sundry tables of the elements of orbits, parallaxes of fixed stars, etc., will gratify experts. The mechanical execution of the book is all that could be desired, even by those who are growing somewhat critical in such matters. We commend the work to all, and especially to the younger ministerial readers of the Quarterly, who may not have previously traversed this field, as one that will give them a larger idea of God than they ever had before.

◆

ART. IV.—ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

Life of Alexander H. Stephens. By RICHARD MALCOM JOHNSTON and WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

TEN or twelve years ago the speeches and political letters of Mr. Stephens were gathered into a volume and published, with a brief biographical sketch of his life; but the only elaborate biography is the book which stands at the head of this article. It is neatly printed, the paper is good, and the mechanical execution in all its parts such as to give it a very attractive appearance. The literary work has, also, been well done. The authors were sufficiently familiar with the stirring events connected with the long public career of Mr. Stephens to enable them to give a clear and comprehensive narrative, holding the interest of the reader to the end.

It could hardly be expected that the biography of such a man, written during his life-time and with his concurrence and

aid, should be free from sectional colorings; and it is not extraordinary that these personal friends should look at the public life of Mr. Stephens from a Southern stand-point, and construe all public measures according to the accepted standards of Southern opinion. The future historian will not be embarrassed by these prejudiced views, and they will not seriously detract from the interest or value of that great mass of information contained in Mr. Stephens' abounding private correspondence—so rich in biographical material, and on which the authors have drawn with a liberal hand. They have given us a volume full of interest, and which, without perpetual attempts at eulogy, sets their subject before the public in a very favorable light.

Mr. Stephens came into public life just as the craze about slavery had seized on the ruling class of his section, and at once became an earnest champion of the slave interest, which he defended and exalted with great ability, till it grew into such strength as to venture on rebellion. But he tells us in one of his recent speeches that he does not now desire a restoration of the old *régime*, and is rather seeking the best interests of his people on the new social programme made inevitable by the war. Without conceding that his former position was erroneous, he recognizes the fact that there are changed social conditions, which lay on his people new duties, and call for new courses of action. Like the apostle, he exhorts to a forgetfulness of the things that are behind, and a pressing forward to those that are before.

His early years present a very instructive example to young men struggling with adversity, and his personal history is as full of interest as his public life. Born in 1812, at the place which he now occupies, near the little town of Crawfordville, in Georgia, he became motherless after a few days, and at the age of fourteen lost his father and his second mother, who died within a few days of each other, making it necessary to break up the family and sell the place. He found a temporary home with an uncle, who occupied a farm some miles away. His father was a straightforward, industrious, Christian man of integrity and solid worth, whose death he felt as a terrible calamity, and who left only a small property, the portion falling to Alexander being about $450.

During his residence at home he had attended school a little,

but the occupations of the farm were very exacting, and left him but little time for even such schooling as the neighborhood afforded. But he was diligent and "apt to learn." On his removal to his uncle's home he found a Sabbath-school, where he was at first an eager scholar, and soon a punctual teacher, attracting attention by the interest which he showed in his work, and his steady attendance on all the religious services. His uncle had arranged with his elder brother to work on the farm, giving him a satisfactory compensation, and had generously proposed to make a similar arrangement for him. But his desire for knowledge had been awakened, and he was so slight of form and so frail in health that he thought he should never be able to endure farm work, and asked if he could not be sent to school. After a little consultation the suggestion was approved, and he was sent for a quarter to the Locust Grove Academy, where he made astonishing progress. On his return to his uncle's, and while looking for a place as clerk, he resumed his work in the Sunday-school, thinking that his school days were over. But one day Mr. Mills, the manager of the school, and a man of property, astonished him by asking if he would not like to study Latin. In short, Mr. Mills proposed to send him to school at his own expense; and when, in due time, the matter was arranged, that gentleman came with his own carriage, and took the boy and his "bundle" away, and went with him and provided for his board and tuition. But when Alexander came home on the occasion of his first vacation Mr. Mills allowed it to be known that he had his eye on the young man for the ministry, and that, if he continued at school, it would be at the charge of the Georgia Education Society. This changed the aspect of the case materially, and gave young Stephens a good deal of uneasiness; but he returned, completed his preparatory studies, and entered college on that arrangement. Before completing his course, however, he became satisfied that his life-work did not lie in the direction of the pulpit, and his implied obligations troubled him so much that he recalled from his uncle his little patrimony, and devoted it to repaying the money that had been expended on his education by the Society; and, with a little further help, he struggled through college, and was graduated in August, 1832, when he was twenty years old.

In this country it is the rule, rather than the exception, that the distinguished leaders of public opinion "come up through great tribulation." The people of the old world look for leadership among those who have been trained under the most favorable circumstances; but in a democracy we dwarf descent and magnify character. Abraham Lincoln and Henry Wilson started up, as it were, from the dust, to stand foremost in the great battle for human rights; and such men as Silas Wright, Daniel Webster, Salmon P. Chase, William H. Seward, and Alexander H. Stephens, who had better advantages, were obliged to make their way, more or less, by teaching school. But as soon as Mr. Stephens had earned a little money by his teaching he resolved to go back to the old place where he was born, and make an earnest effort to begin life on his projected plan. In one of his letters he says: "O, what pains and agonies of spirit it would have saved me if I could have had in hand when I left college the amount I had at the end of this toil."

Mr. Stephens has always had a wonderful veneration for his father; and the memory of the pleasant days spent at home under his affectionate guidance now came over him like the protecting wing of a guardian angel. He loved the old place; the fields where he had toiled; the woods where he had rambled; the places where he had listened to the words of warning and instruction that fell from his father's lips, and all the nameless things that were associated with those days of love and joy. One of his first ambitions was, therefore, to repossess the old place; and, now that he was to begin life, he proposed to begin it there. So, turning away from several tempting offers, he went back to the old house, and took board with Rev. W. Bird, the Methodist preacher who owned it, obtained a room in the Crawfordsville court-house, two miles distant, for his study, and thus alone, without the help of any guiding mind, undertook to prepare himself for an examination at the next meeting of the court, that is to say, in about three months. It was a rash and hazardous attempt, and cost him many days of sadness and misgiving; but, by dint of hard work and a wonderful memory, he accomplished his purpose, and was admitted to the bar on the 22d of July, 1834, at the age of twenty-two years.

Young Stephens was apparently an unpromising candidate for legal distinction. He was very thin and light, weighing only about eighty-five pounds. His eyes were dark, and his voice peculiar, his complexion was sallow and unhealthy, and his whole appearance that of a half-grown boy. So far as speaking is concerned there is no evidence in his biographies that he had won any special notice, while in college or while teaching, as an orator or a debater, and he had had no preliminary practice in the office of any lawyer. But there was something about him to inspire confidence, and on the third day after his admission to practice he was engaged in a case of considerable importance, with a prospective fee of $180. Two weeks later he received his first fee in the shape of a note for $25. In about a month (September 1) he made his first speech before a court, and got his first cash fee, which was, however, only $2. On the 10th of the same month he was employed in a case for which he took a fee of $20, and which proved to be an opening to his future career. The circumstances were these:—

Uriah Battle had, by his marriage with Amanda Askew, an only daughter, which, on his death, was left with Battle's father, who took out letters of guardianship. Subsequently the mother married James Hilsman, and thereupon took the child away from its grandfather, greatly to his disgust, as he knew Hilsman to be a dissipated fellow, and not, as he thought, a fit person to have the charge of the child. Hence he sent a man to recover the child by stratagem, believing that he had a right to its possession by virtue of his power of guardianship. Hilsman, finding that the elder Battle would not give the child up, employed Mr. Stephens, and determined to make an appeal to the power of the law. But the interesting point about it was that Battle, on the other side, had secured the services of Mr. Jeffries, the best known and most distinguished lawyer in the county, who had just removed to Columbus on account of his enlarged business. The parties to the suit were all well known, the trouble had been the leading scandal of the neighborhood for some time, and when the suit came on for trial there was a great crowd.

Of course, the ambition of young Stephens was aroused. He had studied the case laboriously, had spoken to imaginary

courts in the woods, had gathered his authorities from nature as well as from books, and was well prepared for the argument, but was without any personal consideration—a thing which is sometimes of more importance than the argument or the law. When he arose to speak, his appearance was so boyish, and his personal presence so inferior to that of "the gentleman on the other side," that every body was taken with surprise, and the deep and curious silence that prevailed was evidently from a feeling of sympathy, commingled with pity. But, beginning with a plain statement of facts, so clear as to keep the attention which had been given him for other reasons, he went on with his case and his illustrations until his audience lost sight of the man in their intense interest in his case; and when he warmed into a glowing eloquence it soon became clear enough that the court was with him. The next day Dr. Cullen Battle, a relative of the grandfather, in speaking of the matter to one of the family, said :—"When that little fellow argued that even among the beasts of the forest the mother, by the law of nature, was the keeper of her own offspring, and would fight for them to the death, and all the judges fell to crying, I knew that Isaac would have to give up Martha Ann."

This speech and its complete success gave the boy-lawyer a start, and at the end of the year he had paid his way and saved about $400, to be expended in books for his office. This was not done, however, without the most rigid economy. In this regard Mr. Stephens presented an example which might be studied to advantage by some of the young men of our own time. He did not spend other people's money, and not much of his own. A few days after his examination the court sat at Washington, in the next county, and Stephens very much desired to be present, and, as he had no horse, he walked ten miles to his uncle's, where he borrowed a horse, with which he made the journey. Another incident of this long and toilsome journey on foot and on horseback in the heat of summer was the method adopted to make his toilet, that he might be presentable among the lawyers and judges. He carried in his saddle-bags a suit of clean cotton goods, and, just before reaching Washington, dismounted in a retired and leafy wood, where he made the needful change.

Thus it was in all his affairs. If he could not afford to have a horse he went on foot; if he had not means to get broadcloth or linen, he made his way in "everlasting," or cotton. He blacked his own shoes, made his own fires, swept his own office, lived on $6 a month, and spent all else in books. His ambition to buy the old place was soon gratified, and now on the shelves of his library there are about fifteen hundred volumes relating to law, and five thousand volumes relating to history, poetry, and other matters. These habits may strike the reader as indicating a narrow-minded parsimony; but nothing can be further from the fact. On the other hand, his house is celebrated through the State for its plain, but generous, hospitality; his purse is open to all who are in distress, and his own struggles with poverty have warmed his heart toward that large class of young men who are in the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. It is understood that he has assisted some fifty or sixty young persons in obtaining an education, and that about one third of the number have been taken from the common school and put through college.

After his first year Mr. Stephens grew rapidly in professional fame, and found constant employment, either in his own county or the counties adjoining. But the current of his life from the first ran toward public affairs, and in 1836—two years after his admission to the bar—he was elected to the State Legislature. On taking his seat, a stranger, there was nothing about him, except his extremely youthful appearance, to attract attention, and he was only one among many till a particular occasion called him out. This was an important debate on a bill for making preliminary surveys in the interest of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. Railroads were then new to the country, and the information in regard to them was small. But it so happened that they had been brought to the notice of Mr. Stephens two or three years before; and whatever attracted him was sure to get a thorough investigation. He was, therefore, probably better prepared for this debate than the older members who had spoken. Still he remained a quiet observer while the debate went on, bringing out, to the fullest extent, the speaking ability of the House. But the debate had become rather dragging and tiresome, and a new speaker was a relief, and, also, as it seemed, a curiosity; for as soon as

he arose there was a dead silence, and his boyish form was the focus for every eye. How he went on is told by one of his colleagues, Hon. J. L. Harris, in a private letter written some years later. He says:—

> The debate on the "Main Trunk" lingered for days, and every body was tired and worn down, when a clear shrill voice was heard saying, "Mr. Speaker!" Every eye was turned to the thin, attenuated form of the mere boy, with a black, gleaming eye and a cadaverous face. The attention at once became breathless, and the House was enchained for half an hour with new views of the question, such as had not been discussed or hinted at by others, and when he sat down there was a burst of applause from a full gallery, and many of us on the floor joined in the full chorus.

He was returned to the Legislature each year for the next four years, (1836 to 1840,) but his health, for the greater part of the time, was so wretched as to make his public duties burdensome, and in 1841 he declined the nomination, and was for a year out of public service. He was taken up the next year and elected to the Senate, but held his seat only for a single term.

It was in 1839, while he was a member of the House, and only twenty-seven years old, that he made his first sensation outside of the State, at the Charleston Commercial Convention. He was entirely unknown to the great body of the delegates, and had no reputation beyond his own State. The convention was to advance Southern interests, and especially to open a direct trade between England and some Southern port. South Carolina, which was represented by her ablest statesmen, had differed with Georgia as to the port most eligible for this proposed trade, and had brought all her ability to bear on this point. General Hayne, who soon after had the famous passage-at-arms with Mr. Webster; Hon. James Hamilton, then member of Congress, and afterward Governor of the State; Hon. William C. Preston, claimed by many to be the most eloquent Senator in Congress, had all spoken, and the preponderance of ability was largely on the side of South Carolina, when Mr. Stephens, to the surprise of every body, thrust his boyish face before the chair, and commanded the attention of the House. "It was amusing," says his biographer, "to watch the incredulous astonishment of men who could hardly believe their eyes, at the extraordinary spectacle of one who seemed a puny youth, not yet grown to man's

estate, entering the lists against the foremost orators and debaters of the South. But his speech was generally considered a triumph for the Georgia side of the question. Hon. John Savage, who was present, says that "no one who heard that speech can ever forget the electric effect produced by it. It was a bold proceeding in a stranger to measure swords with such antagonists; but it was a still more remarkable exploit to obtain, as he did, the victory over them."

Georgia now began to be proud of her boy statesman, and to think of his promotion. The way was not open immediately, but he did not have to wait long. In 1843, when he was thirty-one years old, he was nominated with others on the Whig ticket. The State was in the hands of the Democrats. The election was by general ticket, and the Governor and all the members of Congress depended on the result. Mr. Stephens was in good condition for the campaign, and spoke in all parts of the State. His biographers duly recount the interest that he excited, the victories that he won, and his skill in assault and defense. It is sufficient, perhaps, that the State was carried, and the whole Whig ticket elected. This brought him on the arena of the nation, and he was thenceforward a conspicuous leader of public opinion. He was successively re-elected down to 1858, just before the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion, when he tired of the turmoil of his position, and declined to be a further candidate. He took his leave of Washington public life, after sixteen years of arduous service, on the fourth of March, 1859, as he then supposed forever.

Mr. Stephens took his seat in Congress just as the question of slavery began to assume an intensely sectional aspect and to thrust itself into all public questions; and he was, from the first, one of its leading champions. His biographers take great delight in setting forth his various tilts with the "abolition fanatics," and his victories over them, and follow him, as we shall not, through all those years of turmoil and tempest in which the country was steadily drifting toward disunion and war. But we should say, perhaps, that, while his biographers look at Mr. Stephens from a sectional stand-point, and interpret his acts and all public measures according to the sectional views of Southern politicians, they furnish to the public a rare

supply of biographical facts; and that the book which they have given us is rich beyond most biographies in that class of material which lays open the inner life, and completely exposes the man in all his various aspects. Whatever may be their opinions or prejudices, therefore, the facts which they give us will speak for themselves.

One of the most beautiful traits in the character of Mr. Stephens is his fidelity to his personal friendships. His dog, his household servants, his poor neighbors, are always among his cares, and seem to share his life-long affections. Mr. Toombs, who was among his earliest professional friends, is cherished still, notwithstanding many causes for estrangement, with the feelings of a brother. And his love for his half-brother, the late Judge Linton Stephens, may be justly said to have "passed the love of women." This half-brother was a child at the death of his parents, and as soon as he was grown to boyhood Mr. Stephens took charge of his education, sent him to school, then to college, then provided for his professional studies, and watched over the early days of his professional life with all the solicitude of the tenderest parent, and made him his confidant in every thing.

During all these years his letters to this brother were like a rain-fall in May. They flowed out as waters flow from a full fountain; and they treated of family affairs, of public affairs, of public men, of political events, of his own heart's yearnings and his own hopes and fears. Linton died in 1872, and this great mass of familiar correspondence, containing the outbreathings of the writer's heart, was turned over to his biographers; and the profuse extracts contained in this volume make up its chief interest.

We are at no loss, therefore, to know exactly his position on every public matter. To this dear brother he exposed his most private thoughts and purposes, and they are here turned over to the public without much regard to discrimination. When, therefore, his biographers represent him as acting generally with great independence, and quite above party considerations, we have the amplest means for forming a correct judgment as to the accuracy of their view. We concede that what they claim is largely true, and that there is much on this score to excite our admiration. But on one point Mr. Stephens

would be called by all the opposers of oppression an intense partisan. For the interests of slavery, or, as he would call it, for the South, he could bear and forbear to any possible extent. He was as true a partisan as the South had, and the epithet of "fanatic," so freely bestowed on the assailants of slavery, could have been more truly retorted upon himself. For these interests he could break over party lines, abandon the Whigs or join the Democrats, make constitutional law or stimulate a rebellion. In one of his letters to Linton he says.: "The most dangerous enemies to our country are the Freesoilers and Abolitionists. To crush *them* out I would join with any honest man, be he Jew or Gentile, American-born or adopted citizen."

It was this dire partisanship that for awhile drove him headlong toward the war. What there was about slavery that won him so entirely to its side is not for us to say. The whole caste of his mind was toward justice and kindness; he had no personal interests in slavery that could weigh a feather in its favor; he was fully conscious of the beneficence of liberty; he loved to extend a helping hand to the poor; he took great delight in lifting men and women forward to better conditions, and he believed in the universal Father and in the brotherhood of his creatures. But the fact remains that he held the system of slavery to be right and God-ordained, and to touch it was certain to draw his fire. He says:—

> Liberty always had charms for me, and I would rejoice to see all the sons of Adam's family in the enjoyment of those rights set forth in our Declaration of Independence as "natural and inalienable," if a stern necessity, bearing the marks and impress of the Creator himself, did not, in some cases, interpose and prevent. Such is the case in the States where slavery now exists.*

Why could not the transparent mind of Mr. Stephens see that every case of cruel despotism is, in the despot's view, however he may chant the praise of liberty in the abstract, just the one exceptional case, sustained by necessity and justified by "the Creator himself," while the victim is, in every case, of just the reverse opinion, with the verdict of the highest impulses of humanity on his side?

---

* Speech on the admission of Texas.

Entering Congress with such views, and at an age when the blood flows freely and the passions are in their full strength, Mr. Stephens was soon in the midst of the fray. In the Presidential election of the next year (1844) the Abolitionists cast some sixty thousand votes, and it was every-where evident that the feeling against slavery was rapidly increasing. There was a demand for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the forts and other properties controlled by the Government, and it began to be the view of the North that, while they should continue to carry out the obligations claimed to be in the Constitution in regard to fugitives and the right of the States to hold their slaves, they should resist the extension of slavery to any new territory. Then there were some who thought they saw that the new zeal of the slaveholders was not on account of the utility of slavery as a domestic institution or a means of producing wealth, but because it was an instrument in the hands of political leaders for obtaining and maintaining political power.

In Congress the pro-slavery men were just what Mr. Stephens charges against the North—they were "insolent and unyielding." John Quincy Adams, having spoken some plain words on the subject of slavery, was threatened with expulsion. Joshua R. Giddings, who had offered a petition for the dissolution of the Union on account of slavery, had to encounter a vote of censure, and indignantly resigned his seat. But "insolence" and intolerance did not suppress the mischief. The thorns that were thrust in the side of slavery continued to increase. John P. Hale, six years older than Mr. Stephens, was a Democrat from New Hampshire, who entered Congress at the same time with him, and soon began to develop unmistakable tendencies against slavery, together with an eloquence and independence of character that made him very formidable. David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, took his seat soon after Mr. Stephens, and when the contest arose about Texas, produced a storm in the House by introducing his famous proviso, that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory." Then came the troublesome questions which arose about organizing new territories that were calling for Governments, and, worst of all, the proposition to admit California as a free State.

Through all these excitements Mr. Stephens was an active and zealous supporter of the slave interest, and his conflicts and triumphs in the arena of debate only served to strengthen and deepen his prejudices. In the Presidential campaign of 1848, which resulted in the election of General Taylor, the advocates of "free territory" polled nearly three hundred thousand votes; and when the new Congress assembled, in 1849, Mr. Winthrop, the Whig Speaker of the previous Congress, who came from a free State, (Massachusetts,) was renominated by his party, and Mr. Cobb, who was from a slave State, (Georgia,) was nominated by the Democrats. The contest between them was long and bitter; but Mr. Cobb was finally elected through the help of Southern Whigs, who had more fidelity to slavery than to party. On the 2d of December, just after the caucus, Mr. Stephens wrote from Washington to his brother as follows:—

> The indications of most boisterous times are looming up on the horizon. I never saw greater sectional feeling exhibited. The North is insolent and unyielding. What is to be the result I cannot imagine. . . . I quitted the meeting, as did Toombs, Cabell, Morton, Hilliard, Owen, and some others. I told them distinctly that I would have no connection with a party that did not disconnect itself with these aggressive abolition movements, and I intend to abide by what I have said. I think the Northern Whigs intend to pass some obnoxious measure in reference to slavery. My Southern blood and feelings are up, and I am prepared to fight at all hazards, and to the last extremity, in vindication of our honor and our rights.—Page 237.

Two days after, December 4, he wrote again in the same strain:—

> If the South intends really to resist the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the forts and arsenals, it is time they were making the necessary preparations in men and money, arms and ammunition. I speak plainly and frankly. It is no time for humdrum resolutions or gasconade. No step should be taken unless we intend to stick to the *Constitutional Union*, at every hazard. . . . I hesitate not to say that, in my opinion, the maintenance of our honor, to say nothing of the vindication of our rights, requires us to resist this aggression. In my course here, while I shall pursue the policy which I believe will be most likely to avert such a result, I shall yield nothing to the aggressor. It is becoming bootless now to quarrel with ourselves about who contributed most to the present state of things. *I believe the*

> *agitators of the South, for several years, have done more to effect it than all others.* But, as Southern men, we must look things in the face as we find them.—Page 238.

Mr. Stephens, of course, regarded all the active opponents of slavery as "fanatics," and seems never to have had the thought cross his mind that there might be fanatics in favor of tyranny as well as fanatics in favor of liberty; but he must have been a little on that stretch, as the sailors say, when he wrote the following:—

> It is better to fall in a manly struggle than to live and fatten in inglorious ease; and I would rather, to-day, see the whole Southern race buried in honored graves than to see them insolently trampled over by such canting, whining, puling hypocrites as are now setting themselves up as our judges and reformers.—Page 239.

During the month that the contest for the speakership was going on his letters held the same tone. On the 5th he writes that the "feeling for a dissolution of the union is becoming more general;" on the 17th, that "they have scotched the movement for abolishing slavery in the District." On the 18th he is in despair about the election of a speaker, and cannot tell when one will be chosen, but adds: "If the South would follow my lead—*never*, until the North came to terms with us upon our rights."

When Mr. Cobb was finally elected the South was appeased and the excitement quieted, but Mr. Stephens brooded over the events that had taken place with gloomy forebodings; and on the question of admitting California as a State, without the preliminary formula of a territorial Government, he writes:—

> Will the slavery question be settled in this way? I think not. My deliberate opinion is that this will be the beginning of the end, which will be the severance of the political bonds that now unite the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. When I look at the *causes* of the present discontent, I am persuaded that there will never again be harmony between the two great sections of the Union. . . . If I were in the Legislature (Georgia) I should introduce bills for reorganizing the militia, for establishing military schools, for the encouragement of volunteer companies, for the creation of arsenals, an armory, and an establishment for making gunpowder. In these lie our defense. I tell you, the argument is exhausted, and if the South does not intend to be over-

> run with antislavery doctrines, she must, before no distant day, stand to her arms. My mind is made up. I am for the fight, if the country will back me; and if not, we had better have no resolutions and no gasconade. . . . *We must ultimately submit or fight.*—Page 245.

On the 29th of January, 1850, Mr. Clay brought in his celebrated measure known as the omnibus bill or compromise, which was for the healing of the "five bleeding wounds of the country." After a protracted debate the omnibus failed, but its distinguished author bravely gathered up the fragments and brought them forward in separate bills, and they were all passed, Mr. Webster coming to their support in his famous speech of the 7th of March. They embraced the admission of California as a free State, territorial Governments for Utah and New Mexico without any slavery proviso, the settlement of the boundary between Mexico and Texas, the inexpediency of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and a more effectual law for the return of escaped slaves. The passage of these measures, and the principle of non-intervention which they seemed to recognize, put a better face on Southern prospects, and the letters of Mr. Stephens are never again so fierce *for the fight.* On the other hand, while he regarded the repeal of the Missouri line as right, and in accordance with the compromise measures, and was thoroughly with his section through all the Kansas outrages, he complained that there was a strong element in the South that was demanding too much; that they did not desire to have the North make concessions, and were in favor of a rupture, whether the North abided by the compromises or not. There was, also, another cause that operated to moderate his fervor. The reader has already noted a quotation in which he says he would join with any honest man to crush out abolitionism. The word *honest* in this quotation has a deeper meaning than it expresses. The heat of a contest so selfish as this for the aggrandizement of slavery naturally brought to the front the worst elements of Southern society, and Mr. Stephens did not quite like his associates. On the 11th and 12th of January, 1858, after being defeated in a vote on one of the preliminary questions relating to Kansas, he says:—

> How shamefully the South is represented! Some of them were too drunk to be got into the House. . . . I am very apprehensive

> that we shall be beaten, but it will be by the South. . . . My heart is sad. If we should separate, what is to become of us in the hands of such representatives? Have we any future but miserable petty squabbles, parties, factions, and fragments of organizations, led by contemptible drunken demagogues? My country! What is to become of it? It is the idol of my life! Her glory, her prosperity, her welfare, her happiness, her renown. Perhaps it is too much my idol; but it has been the absorbing object of my life's ambition, and yet all is, I fear, about to be blasted. . . . We had all our men there, but some were so drunk they had to be kept out till they were wanted to say "Aye" or "No."—Page 331.

In the session of 1858 and 1859, during the long conflict which ended in the admission of Kansas, the labors devolved on Mr. Stephens were far beyond his strength, and the results not quite satisfactory. As one of the leaders of the House he was overwhelmed with company, was obliged to drum up his half-hearted partisans at every vote, was deprived of his regular hours for sleep, and was not altogether proud of the men that were his dependence for support and success. In short, he was pretty thoroughly disgusted with his position, and determined to yield it to some more willing hand. About a month before the close of the session he writes:—

> Were you here you would pity me. I have about one hundred letters before me unanswered. But on one thing I am determined. When this session ends, with it *shall end my connection with politics forever.* Then I can follow; and, if life and strength allow, I can and will devote myself to pursuits more congenial to my tastes and nature."—Page 342.

He accordingly declined to stand for another election, and on the breaking up of Congress returned to his home at Crawfordsville, thinking that his days of public life were over. His biographer tells us that, when he entered Congress, sixteen years before, he was worth about $14,000, and that all the gain to his private fortune during these years of turmoil and labor was from the accumulation of interest, amounting to about $2,000; while in the next two years he laid up over $20,000 from his professional labors. American statesmanship would, therefore, seem not to be a very lucrative business to an *honest* man.

The election of Mr. Lincoln, in November, 1860, by a purely sectional vote, was the signal for a general revolt among the

> that we shall be beaten, but it will be by the South. . . . My heart is sad. If we should separate, what is to become of us in the hands of such representatives? Have we any future but miserable petty squabbles, parties, factions, and fragments of organizations, led by contemptible drunken demagogues? My country! What is to become of it? It is the idol of my life! Her glory, her prosperity, her welfare, her happiness, her renown. Perhaps it is too much my idol; but it has been the absorbing object of my life's ambition; and yet all is, I fear, about to be blasted. . . . We had all our men there, but some were so drunk they had to be kept out till they were wanted to say "Aye" or "No."—Page 331.

In the session of 1858 and 1859, during the long conflict which ended in the admission of Kansas, the labors devolved on Mr. Stephens were far beyond his strength, and the results not quite satisfactory. As one of the leaders of the House he was overwhelmed with company, was obliged to drum up his half-hearted partisans at every vote, was deprived of his regular hours for sleep, and was not altogether proud of the men that were his dependence for support and success. In short, he was pretty thoroughly disgusted with his position, and determined to yield it to some more willing hand. About a month before the close of the session he writes:—

> "Were you here you would pity me. I have about one hundred letters before me unanswered. But on one thing I am determined. When this session ends, with it shall end my connection with *politics forever*. Then I can follow; and, if life and strength allow, I can and will devote myself to pursuits more congenial to my tastes and nature."—Page 342.

He accordingly declined to stand for another election, and on the breaking up of Congress returned to his home at Crawfordville, thinking that his days of public life were over. His biographer tells us that, when he entered Congress, sixteen years before, he was worth about $14,000, and that all the gain to his private fortune during these years of turmoil and labor was from the accumulation of interest, amounting to about $7,000; while in the next two years he laid up over $20,000 from his professional labors. American statesmanship would, therefore, seem not to be a very lucrative business to an honest man.

The election of Mr. Lincoln, in November, 1860, by a purely sectional vote, was the signal for a general revolt among the pro-slavery leaders of the extreme South, and Georgia was soon in a state of great agitation. With divided counsels, she was hesitating whether to follow the lead of the extremists and take the "leap in the dark," or cling to the Union, as it was formed by our fathers. The questions that confronted the people were so momentous and the peril of the State so imminent that there had been a spontaneous gathering of leading men at the capital, where the Legislature was in session; and it was suggested that Mr. Stephens should be called from his retirement, and give them the benefit of his counsel and advice. Accordingly an official invitation was forwarded to him from the Legislature, and he at once repaired to Milledgeville; and, on November 14, about a week after the election, he delivered that memorable speech against secession which has been so largely quoted in all sections of the Union, and which was thought, at the time, would turn the scale against a separation.

On the previous evening there had been an enthusiastic meeting to promote secession, which had been addressed by Mr. Toombs and others, and the current was setting strongly against the North; but that produced no effect on the clear convictions of Mr. Stephens. His masterly argument did not go to the point of condemning secession as a remedy, whenever there was sufficient cause for a separation, but was based on the solid ground that no sufficient cause had arisen. The election of Mr. Lincoln, by an unquestioned majority of the electoral college, and according to the forms prescribed by the Constitution, was certainly no sufficient cause; and as to government, the South still held the virtual control of the Supreme Court, the Senate, and the House, and no obnoxious measure could be passed without its sanction. In the popular branch of Congress, notwithstanding the defeat of the Democratic candidate for President, in consequence of unfortunate divisions, it had gained members in the House, and there was no evidence that it did not hold, and could not continue to hold, its accustomed control in the Government. He also adverted to the wonderful prosperity that the country had had in the Union, to the growth of Georgia, to the respect which we had won among the nations, and to the perils which were likely to be encountered by a separation. He said:—

pro-slavery leaders of the extreme South, and Georgia was soon in a state of great agitation. With divided counsels, she was hesitating whether to follow the lead of the extremists and take the "leap in the dark," or cling to the Union as it was formed by our fathers. The questions that confronted the people were so momentous and the peril of the State so imminent that there had been a spontaneous gathering of leading men at the capital, where the Legislature was in session; and it was suggested that Mr. Stephens should be called from his retirement, and give them the benefit of his counsel and advice. Accordingly an official invitation was forwarded to him from the Legislature, and he at once repaired to Milledgeville; and, on November 14, about a week after the election, he delivered that memorable speech against secession which has been so largely quoted in all sections of the Union, and which was thought, at the time, would turn the scale against a separation.

On the previous evening there had been an enthusiastic meeting to promote secession, which had been addressed by Mr. Toombs and others, and the current was setting strongly against the North; but that produced no effect on the clear convictions of Mr. Stephens. His masterly argument did not go to the point of condemning secession as a remedy, whenever there was sufficient cause for a separation, but was based on the solid ground that no sufficient cause had arisen. The election of Mr. Lincoln, by an unquestioned majority of the electoral college, and according to the forms prescribed by the Constitution, was certainly no sufficient cause; and as to government, the South still held the virtual control of the Supreme Court, the Senate, and the House, and no obnoxious measure could be passed without its sanction. In the popular branch of Congress, notwithstanding the defeat of the Democratic candidate for President, in consequence of unfortunate divisions, it had gained members in the House, and there was no evidence that it did not hold, and could not continue to hold, its established control in the Government. He also adverted to the wonderful prosperity that the country had had in the Union, as the growth of Georgia, to the respect which we had won among the nations, and to the perils which were likely to be encountered by a separation. He said:—

> When I look around me, and see our prosperity in every thing—agriculture, art, science, and every department of progress—certainly, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and our posterity to do so. Let us not unwisely yield to this temptation! Our first parents were not without a like temptation. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered, that their eyes would be opened, that they would be as gods. They yielded; and, instead of becoming gods, they found, when too late, that their eye shad been opened only to discover their own nakedness. I look upon this country, with its liberal institutions, as the Eden of the world, the Paradise of the Universe. It may be that out of its embraces we may become greater and more prosperous; but I am sincere in telling you that I greatly fear, if we yield to passion, and without sufficient cause take this step, instead of becoming greater, more peaceful, more happy—instead of becoming gods—we shall become demons, and at no distant day fall to cutting each other's throats.—Page 573.

The effect of this speech was wonderful, and it was believed by many that it had effectually mastered the secession movement in Georgia. Mr. Toombs was present, and interrupted the speaker several times with puzzling questions, but they drew out only telling and conclusive replies; and it was evident that its positions could not be answered, as they certainly never were answered. At its close Mr. Toombs, who was the leader on the other side, instead of undertaking to combat its positions, arose and said: "Fellow-citizens, we have just listened to a speech from one of the brightest intellects and purest patriots that now lives. I move that this meeting adjourn, with three cheers for Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia." Whereupon the meeting broke up with a tremenduous burst of applause.

But the fever was only allayed—not quenched. The people took fire from the positive action of South Carolina, and Georgia soon followed her example, and called a convention. Mr. Stephens and his brother were both members, and undertook to stem the tide; but in vain. The ordinance was passed, and their votes were recorded in the negative, with a very small minority. While the convention was pending, he writes on various dates as follows:—

> We are, I fear, in the hands of those who are bent upon dissolution at all hazards. Nothing will satisfy them but to get out of

> When I look around me, and see our prosperity in every thing—agriculture, art, science and every department of progress—certainly, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and our posterity to do so. Let us not unwisely yield to this temptation! Our first parents were not without a like temptation. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered, that their eyes would be opened, that they would be as gods. They yielded; and, instead of becoming gods, they found, when too late, that their eye had been opened only to discover their own nakedness. I look upon this country, with its liberal institutions, as the Eden of the world, the Paradise of the Universe. It may be that out of its embraces we may become greater and more prosperous; but I am sincere in telling you that I greatly fear, if we yield to passion, and without sufficient cause take this step, instead of becoming greater, more powerful, more happy—instead of becoming gods—we shall become demons, and at no distant day fall to cutting each other's throats.—Page 575.

The effect of this speech was wonderful, and it was believed by many that it had effectually smothered the secession movement in Georgia. Mr. Toombs was present, and interrupted the speaker several times with puzzling questions, but they drew out only telling and conclusive replies; and it was evident that its positions could not be answered, as they certainly never were answered. At its close Mr. Toombs, who was the leader on the other side, instead of undertaking to combat its positions, arose and said: "Fellow-citizens, we have just listened to a speech from one of the brightest intellects and purest patriots that now lives. I move that this meeting adjourn, with three cheers for Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia." Whereupon the meeting broke up with a tremendous burst of applause.

But the fever was only allayed—not quenched. The people took fire from the positive action of South Carolina, and Georgia soon followed her example, and called a convention. Mr. Stephens and his brother were both members, and undertook to stem the tide, but in vain. The ordinance was passed, and their votes were recorded in the negative, with a very small minority. While the convention was pending, he writes on various dates as follows:—

> We are, I fear, in the hands of those who are bent upon disruption at all hazards. Nothing will satisfy them but to get out of

> the Union and form a separate Government. . . . I am becoming more and more confirmed in the opinion that all efforts to save the Union will be unavailing. The truth is that our public men who have taken hold of this question do not desire to continue it on any terms. They do not want any redress of grievances. They are disunionists *per se*, and my opinion is that they will carry the State with them by a large majority. . . . If I am elected, and you are, I shall go to the convention simply to share your fate and link my destiny with yours and that of our State—just as I would, if I could, in the blow-up of a steamer at sea, get on the same fragment of a wreck with you and other dear ones, that we might, in the last hour, have the consolation of going down together. . . . I have ceased to put much confidence in our public men. Most of them are destitute of principle. . . . It really seems as if Providence was on the other side. From the beginning of this movement, last spring, every incident of what is termed *luck* seems to be *against* the conservatives—I call it Providence.

Mr. Stephens was also a delegate to the Confederate Convention, at Montgomery, and seems to have attended with some hesitation. He says :—

> I shall go and do all I can to prevent mischief, and if the new Government shall be successfully launched, as I hope it may be, I shall go into that retirement so congenial to my feelings. . . . My apprehension and distrust for the future arises from the want of high integrity, loyalty to principle, and pure, disinterested patriotism in the men at the head of the Government. . . . They are selfish, ambitious, and unscrupulous. Republics cannot be built up without the strictest and sternest virtues.—Page 384.

At this convention a form of Government was adopted, and Mr. Stephens was chosen Vice-President, thus becoming a leader in a movement which he had strongly disapproved ; and it is sometimes quoted to his prejudice, as showing that his fondness for position overcame his scruples against secession. But this is, probably, very unjust. In one of his letters he says : "How far a man can, consistently with a proper sense of duty, abandon his country to its fate when he sees its fate inevitable, I will not undertake to say." To turn away in the hour of uncertainty and trial evidently seemed to him like abandonment, and did not consist with his straight-forward sense of duty. In the Georgia Convention, in his speech against the ordinance of secession, he said that he did not regard the causes set forth as sufficient, but if he was overruled by numbers he should go with the majority, and cast in his lot with

his State. "To obstruct or delay," he said, "would only tend to distract and divide our counsels, which ought, above every other consideration, to be harmonious." He was, therefore, with the movement if it must be made, and, probably, believed that he would serve in promoting moderation and peace.

At least this was the practical effect of his leadership. It was with him that General Sherman had his consultations in regard to peace; it was with him that the elder Blair conferred prior to the Hampton council; and it was with him that President Lincoln and Secretary Seward deliberated at the Hampton meeting. Mr. Stephens sustained the war with all his energy, made a speech to the Virginia Convention to promote the secession of that State, stimulated the raising of troops, and acted always the close of the struggle he was outspoken against the arbitrary in harmony with the Confederate Government; but toward measures often resorted to; and after the meeting at Hampton Roads refused to address the people of Richmond, because, as he says, he "could not consent to inspire hopes which he did not believe could be realized." He left Richmond on the 7th of February (1865) for his home at Crawfordville, where he proposed to await the coming catastrophe, so plainly foreshadowed. On the 11th of May he was arrested and carried to Fort Warren, near Boston, where he suffered an imprisonment of five months, much to the permanent injury of his health, and was released on his parole October 12th, and made his way back to his much-loved home.

After the war Mr. Stephens was among the most earnest of those who sought a restoration of the Union on the new basis of freedom, and in 1866 was elected to the United States Senate to promote that object, but was not allowed to take his seat. Then, with shattered health, and with his limbs drawn up by rheumatism, he turned away from all public employment, and devoted his attention to literature, writing his "War Between the States," and his "School History." His object seems to have been to redeem the South from the odium which the North was heaping upon it, and especially to vindicate it from being the aggressor in the contest. His position is that the South clung to the Constitution, while the North, by its personal liberty bills and its refusal to return fugitives, set the Constitution at defiance, and was, therefore, the aggressor.

his State. "To obstruct or delay," he said, "would only tend to distract and divide our counsels, which ought, above every other consideration, to be harmonious." He was, therefore, with the movement if it must be made, and, probably, believed that he would serve in promoting moderation and peace.

At least this was the practical effect of his leadership. It was with him that General Sherman had his consultations in regard to peace; it was with him that the elder Blair conferred prior to the Hampton council; and it was with him that President Lincoln and Secretary Seward deliberated at the Hampton meeting. Mr. Stephens sustained the war with all his energy, made a speech to the Virginia Convention to promote the secession of that State, stimulated the raising of troops, and acted always in harmony with the Confederate Government; but toward the close of the struggle he was outspoken against the arbitrary measures often resorted to; and after the meeting at Hampton Roads refused to address the people of Richmond, because, as he says, he "could not consent to inspire hopes which he did not believe could be realized." He left Richmond on the 9th of February (1865) for his home at Crawfordville, where he proposed to await the coming catastrophe, so plainly foreshadowed. On the 11th of May he was arrested and carried to Fort Warren, near Boston, where he suffered an imprisonment of five months, much to the permanent injury of his health, and was released on his parole October 12th, and made his way back to his much-loved home.

After the war Mr. Stephens was among the most earnest of those who sought a restoration of the Union on the new basis of freedom, and in 1866 was elected to the United States Senate to promote that object, but was not allowed to take his seat. Then, with shattered health, and with his limbs drawn up by rheumatism, he turned away from all public employment, and devoted his attention to literature, writing his "War Between the States," and his "School History." His object seems to have been to redeem the South from the odium which the North was heaping upon it, and especially to vindicate it from being the aggressor in the contest. His position is that the South clung to the Constitution, while the North, by its personal liberty bills and its refusal to return fugitives, set the Constitution at defiance, and was, therefore, the aggressor.

This is not a view that is likely to meet with general acceptance. The issue was not on the failure to return fugitives, but on the enormous claims which the South attempted to enforce by reason of the "pound of flesh" which it thought it had in the Constitution. The world will hardly be able to see how the obligation to return "persons" who were "*held to service*" should authorize chattel slavery in the new territories; and when the South undertook to enforce its absurd claim it was clearly the offender. The man who commits a breach of the peace may break the law, but if he does it to protect himself from the assault of a highwayman he would hardly be held as the aggressor.

But we turn with a feeling of relief from this pardonable indiscretion to his generous and noble words spoken at the seat of Government a year after the war. We have seen him triumphant at the bar, a leader in the State Legislature, measuring swords in his youth with the veteran statesmen of South Carolina, the champion of his section in Congress, and the Vice-President of a doubtful nationality; but in none of these places does he bear himself so loftily as when, in the hour of adversity, he addresses his stricken State, and clearly points the way to recovery and future prosperity. His speech before the General Assembly, February 22, 1866, shows a wisdom and a magnanimity which make us forget the past, and which lift him up to the fellowship of the great and good of all generations. We can think of nothing anywhere more appropriate or more exactly suited to the demands of the occasion.

Georgia, so fierce for the conflict, had come out of it in her weeds of mourning, shorn of her prosperity, bereft of her slaves, and not knowing which way to look for help. It was in such an exigency that her Legislature again turned to the man whose warning words she had so unfortunately disregarded five years before; and Mr. Stephens, in his crippled condition, and in broken health, appeared before its members at their summons. The speech was delivered at the Capitol, in the presence of a large, intelligent, and earnest audience, and was so well received as to get the unanimous approval of both houses of the Legislature, and was ordered to be spread at large on the records of the State.

He did not begin by saying, "I told you so;" but after stat-

g that "adversity was a severe school," but that there was pe where the people realized their true situation, he went on commend to their attention several virtues as necessary for eir recuperation. First, patience. "We are," said he, "in e condition of a man who has a dislocated limb, or a broken , and a very bad, compound fracture, at that. How it be- e broken is not, with him, a matter of so much importance how it can be restored to health, vigor, and strength." He d he knew how hard it was to wait and bear, but complaint d bad temper would not hasten the desired end. The next ng that he commended to their attention was the exer- e of a liberal spirit, a spirit of forbearance, and the banish- nt of every feeling and sentiment calculated to stir the dis- rds of the past. Whatever differences existed among them- lves had arisen from a desire to do the best thing, and secure e best ends. "It was," he said, "with this view that we tried se- sion; but instead of bettering our condition, and establishing r liberties on a surer foundation, it came near losing us the h inheritance with which we set out." He believed that the est hopes of the people were in adopting the reconstruction licy of the President. He then referred effectively to the toration in England after the death of Cromwell in order to w how ready the people were to accept, under changed cir- stances, what they had before scornfully rejected. On the ject of slavery he said: "This change should be received d accepted as an irrevocable fact. It is bootless to discuss ether the new system is better than the old. Let us give the w a fair trial with that earnestness of purpose which looks pefully to success." In relation to the large class made free, said that wise and humane provision should be made by law their education, and that "ample and full protection should cured to them, so that they may stand equal before the in the possession and enjoyment of all rights of person, rty, and property." And, said he, "above all, this protec- should be secured, because it is right. All government uld have this leading object in view—the good of the gov- ed." He acknowledged that the condition was gloomy, but pe was in the peaceful restoration of the old Union. r referring to the fact that they had lost their slaves, and ut half of the accumulated capital of the century, he said:—

ing that "adversity was a severe school," but that there was hope where the people realized their true situation, he went on to commend to their attention several virtues as necessary for their recuperation. First, patience. "We are," said he, "in the condition of a man who has a dislocated limb, or a broken leg, and a very bad, compound fracture, at that. How it became broken is not, with him, a matter of so much importance as how it can be restored to health, vigor, and strength." He said he knew how hard it was to wait and bear, but complaint and bad temper would not hasten the desired end. The next thing that he commended to their attention was the exercise of a liberal spirit, a spirit of forbearance, and the banishment of every feeling and sentiment calculated to stir the discords of the past. Whatever differences existed among themselves had arisen from a desire to do the best thing, and secure the best ends. "It was," he said, "with this view that we tried secession; but instead of bettering our condition, and establishing our liberties on a surer foundation, it came near losing us the rich inheritance with which we set out." He believed that the surest hopes of the people were in adopting the reconstruction policy of the President. He then referred effectively to the restoration in England after the death of Cromwell in order to show how ready the people were to accept, under changed circumstances, what they had before scornfully rejected. On the subject of slavery he said: "This change should be received and accepted as an irrevocable fact. It is useless to discuss whether the new system is better than the old. Let us give the new a fair trial with that earnestness of purpose which looks hopefully to success." In relation to the large class made free, he said that wise and humane provision should be made by law for their education, and that "ample and full protection should be secured to them, so that they may stand equal before the law in the possession and enjoyment of all rights of person, liberty, and property." And, said he, "above all, this protection should be secured, because it is right. All governments should have this leading object in view—the good of the governed." He acknowledged that the condition was gloomy, but his hope was in the peaceful restoration of the old Union. After referring to the fact that they had lost their slaves, and about half of the accumulated capital of the century, he said:—

"We still have left all the essentials of free government," and, in our new beginning, we shall be in a better condition than our fathers, when they laid the foundations on which we have been building.

His examination before the Committee of Reconstruction a short time after breathes the same spirit, and did much to further the work of reconstruction. And, generally, since the war his action, though not always up to the line of Northern sentiment, has been to advance the interests of peace, harmony, and restoration. Since his return to Congress he has been so much an invalid as not to share largely in the general legislation of that body; but such action as has come to the knowledge of the public has been singularly free from that intense partisanship which has been the bane of his class. When the Potter Committee was appointed his voice was strong and clear for a full and fair investigation; and his manly position brought down on him the severe denunciation of many Southern members. He was, also, arraigned by some of his personal friends, and the Atlanta "Constitution," the leading paper in Georgia, assailed him with persistent bitterness. As a consequence of this unfriendly criticism, word was passed around through his district that he must be abandoned, and another man nominated in his place. He was still in Washington when letters came pouring in on him from all quarters, informing him of the situation. But neither age nor infirmity had clouded his vision or subdued his power of prompt decision, and never, in his best days, did he show more pluck or self-reliance. He immediately wrote back from his seat that he would be a candidate for re-election, whether he was nominated by his party or not; and soon after went to Georgia, fully expecting to contest the ground, inch by inch, on the basis of his claim for a full and fair investigation. But his promptness and energy disturbed the programme of his enemies, and events soon so completely vindicated his course that, although there were loud complaints, there was no organized opposition, and he was renominated and re-elected.

One of the most pleasant incidents of Mr. Stephens' recent public life was his effort to pay a graceful tribute to the memory of the late President Lincoln. It will be remembered that Mr. Carpenter's famous picture, commemorating the event

which virtually put an end to slavery, was publicly presented to the Government by the liberal lady who had purchased it for that purpose, and that Mr. Stephens was one of the speakers on the occasion. It was not an event with which he could strongly sympathize, for he had been the advocate and shield of slavery through his whole life, and in his celebrated "corner-stone" speech had laid the foundation of the Confederate Government on slavery; while Mr. Lincoln was the man who had knocked away the foundation and demolished the building. He evidently felt the awkwardness of his position, and his speech was not one of his most brilliant efforts; but the disposition which it showed to forget the past was every-where appreciated, and his speech made up in goodness what it lacked in strength.

Goodness. That word, perhaps, comes nearer to expressing the leading trait in his character than any other. In public life he was hardly known as a man of piety, but in one of his letters he says: "I have for years made it my business to devote a portion of each day to prayer." He also refers to his early religious impressions, his subsequent lapse into infidelity, his misanthropy and dissatisfaction with himself and with the world, and how, like the prodigal, he "came to himself." He says he began to think that the trouble was with *him;* and hence he determined to adopt a new line of policy. This was, first, to cease finding fault and troubling himself about what he could not understand; and, second, to nurture and cultivate the kindlier affections of the heart, and with this, he says, "every day, at some hour, to put myself in communion with God." On this *régime* he soon became "a much more contented and happy man," and thenceforward it became the settled policy of his life. Linton, whether in college, or at the bar, or struggling in the mazes of the rebellion, he exhorts to a trust in God, and says: "For myself, I am determined to do my duty, and leave consequences to the great Disposer of events, feeling assured that all will be right."

In his public life he takes his own counsel, and endeavors, as far as possible, to "forget the things that are behind." Hence he has not committed the indiscretion, so common among his associates, of rising on every occasion to defend the action of his State or of his section in those things which were ruled down by the sword. He does not believe that the cure of the limb which virtually put an end to slavery, was publicly presented to the Government by the liberal lady who had purchased it for that purpose, and that Mr. Stephens was one of the speakers on the occasion. It was not an event with which he could strongly sympathize, for he had been the advocate and shield of slavery through his whole life, and in his celebrated "corner-stone" speech had laid the foundation of the Confederate Government on slavery; while Mr. Lincoln was the man who had knocked away the foundation and demolished the building. He evidently felt the awkwardness of his position, and his speech was not one of his most brilliant efforts; but the disposition which it showed to forget the past was every-where appreciated, and his speech made up in goodness what it lacked in strength.

Goodness. That word, perhaps, comes nearer to expressing the leading trait of his character than any other. In public life he was hardly known as a man of piety, but in one of his letters he says: "I have for years made it my business to devote a portion of each day to prayer." He also refers to his early religious impressions, his subsequent lapse into infidelity, his misanthropy and dissatisfaction with himself and with the world, and how, like the prodigal, he "came to himself." He says he began to think that the trouble was with *him*; and hence he determined to adopt a new line of policy. This was, first, to cease finding fault and troubling himself about what he could not understand; and, second, to nurture and cultivate the kindlier affections of the heart, and with this, he says, "every day, at some hour, to put myself in communion with God." On this *régime* he soon became "a much more contented and happy man," and thenceforward it became the settled policy of his life. Linton, whether in college, or at the bar, or struggling in the mazes of the rebellion, he exhorts to a trust in God, and says: "For myself, I am determined to do my duty, and leave consequences to the great Disposer of events, feeling assured that all will be right."

In his public life he takes his own counsel, and endeavors, as far as possible, to "forget the things that are behind." Hence he has not committed the indiscretion, so common among his associates, of rising on every occasion to defend the action of his State or of his section in those things which were ruled down by the sword. He does not believe that the edict of the high that was broken is likely to be hastened by acts which serve only to increase the inflammation, and remembers always that "soft words turn away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger." He continues to extend a helping hand to those who are thirsting for knowledge, and writes: "Don't forget to let the young men have the money. If you cannot raise it, I will send it from here," (Washington.) Some of these young men, now in college, are from among the class formerly in bondage.

"Of all Christian virtues," he writes to Linton, "cultivate humility, meekness, and a spirit of dependence on the great Ruler of the universe." In another letter he says: "If I have said nothing about religion, it is not because I feel nothing. I do hope that you will not trust yourself to your own judgment, but will ask assistance from One who is able to direct you." Although he believed in the slave system, and defended it, in Congress and out of Congress, before the war, he did not defend the cruelties which it often engendered, and was himself all that was kind and generous toward those that were in his service. In relation to his mode of living at home his biographer says:—

> There was, probably, no home in Georgia where the old-fashioned virtue of hospitality was, and still is, practiced on a more liberal scale than at Liberty Hall. For many years it has been Mr. Stephens' practice, during court week, to entertain all the lawyers in attendance from other counties. As he lived on the line of the railroad, every one who passed between Augusta and Atlanta, whether previously acquainted with him or not, felt entirely free to favor Mr. Stephens with a brief call, a visit of a day or two, or a stay of several weeks, as they might feel inclined. Some came out of respect, some from curiosity, some to ask pecuniary assistance, and many from the feeling that his house was open to every body. As for the people of Taliaferro County, there was not a man, woman, or child there that did not feel as much at home in his house as in their own—free to enter at any time, and stay as long as they pleased.
>
> Rarely does a chance visitor call at Liberty Hall, at dinner time, that he does not find other guests, some of whom were as little expected as himself. But their host does not allow himself to be incommoded by these visitors. If he is occupied he welcomes his guests, and then continues what he has in hand, leaving them to take care of themselves.—Pages 453, 454.

It is generally known that Mr. Stephens was never married. Says his biographer:—

With uncommon capacity for loving, his life, outside of his public services, so unblest in its needs, desires, and yearnings, has been wholly devoted to others: first and most fondly to those nearest to him, but also to all whom he could serve, by active assistance whenever possible, and, where not possible, by commiseration and sympathy.—Page 541.

The leading men of the South have been slow to learn the advantages of toleration and justice. In the book before us is a remarkable example, hidden away in a note, where the author makes a shameful apology for the Ku-Klux murders—the darkest infamy, in our country, of the nineteenth century. Clearly, if such views are entertained by the most intelligent classes, and crime ceases to be crime when it is visited on the friendless and the weak, we are not only a long way from justice, but from republican liberty.

> "Vice is a monster of so frightful mien
> As, to be hated needs but to be seen."

But how can we *hate* it if we cannot *see* it? Or, if we wink at it or apologize for it, why should it not go on? But Mr. Stephens has a healthier vision, and demands protection and justice for all. It was our Lord who said, "Inasmuch as ye did it to *the least of these* ye did to me." Protection to the weak is the highest element of Christian character, and the first duty of the State. All democratic liberty is based on equal justice and equal law, without which liberty is but a name.

We cannot, as we have said, understand how such a man as Mr. Stephens could be the shield of such a wrong as slavery; but we can see many reasons why, having taken his position, he should be the fast friend of the South. Nay, we can even honor the feeling which made him cling to its fortunes in adversity as well as in prosperity, and, like Long Tom Coffin, prefer to go down with the ship rather than to witness its destruction from a place of safety. But the narrowness of sectionalism is not naturally an element of his character. On the other hand, he has a broad expansiveness, which puts him in sympathy with the whole country and the whole world. No "pent-up Utica" contracts his powers, which belong to all mankind. He is, we may say, less of a sectionalist and more of a nationalist, less of a politician and more of a statesman, less of a partisan and more of a patriot, than any man that has come

With uncommon capacity for feeling, his life, outside of his public services, so unblest in its nearer desires, and yearnings, has been wholly devoted to others: first and most fondly to those nearest to him, but also to all whom he could serve, by active assistance whenever possible, and, where not possible, by consideration and sympathy.—Page 441.

The leading men of the South have been slow to learn the advantages of toleration and justice. In the book before us is a remarkable example, hidden away in a note, where the author makes a shameful apology for the Ku-Klux murders—the darkest infamy, in our country, of the Nineteenth century. Clearly, if such views are entertained by the most intelligent class, and crime ceases to be crime when it is visited on the friendless and the weak, we are not only a long way from justice, but from republican liberty.

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen."

But how can we *hate* it if we cannot see it? Or, if we wink at it or apologize for it, why should it not go on? But Mr. Stephens has a healthier vision, and demands protection and justice for all. It was our Lord who said, "Inasmuch as ye did it to *the least of these* ye did it to me." Protection to the weak is the highest element of Christian character, and the first duty of the State. All democratic liberty is based on equal justice and equal laws, without which liberty is but a name.

We cannot, as we have said, understand how such a man as Mr. Stephens could be the shield of such a wrong as slavery; but we can see many reasons why, having taken his position, he should be the fast friend of the South. Nay, we can even honor the feeling which made him cling to its fortunes in adversity as well as in prosperity, and, like Long Tom Coffin, prefer to go down with the ship rather than to witness its destruction from a place of safety. But the narrowness of sectionalism is not naturally an element of his character. On the other hand, he has a broad expansiveness, which puts him in sympathy with the whole country and the whole world. "Cooped-up Utica" contracts his powers, which belong to all mankind. He is, we may say, less of a sentimentalist and more of a rationalist, less of a politician and more of a statesman, less of a partisan and more of a patriot, than any man that has come out of the rebellion, if not any Southern man now in public life. And we may add that no Southern man commands more generally the confidence and affection of North and South alike, or has done more to bring back the old days of conciliation and peace. We may well hope that his health and vigor may be restored, and that his counsels in favor of honesty, peace, justice, and moderation may long be contributed to the nation.

◆

ART. V.—THE ELECTION OF PRESIDING ELDERS.

THE discussion of the constitutional right of the General Conference to make the Presiding Elders elective in the several Annual Conferences of our Church, but subject to Episcopal approval, by a mere majority vote of the General Conference and without concurrent action on part of the Annual Conferences, has not yet been very full or satisfactory. Prior to 1876, this question had so long been devoid of interest for the Methodist public that very few were familiar with its real nature and history. Men went to the late General Conference, at Baltimore, pledged to aid the so-called reform movement, who found themselves forced to gain nearly all their historical acquaintance with the subject during the busy weeks of the session, and with imperfect resources for their work; while men on the conservative side found themselves suddenly and somewhat hotly summoned to defend an existing economy, whose history, constitutional grounds, and relations were not quite familiar. Such a state of things was not favorable to a wise and intelligent consideration of this grave question.

Then the limitation of each speaker to fifteen minutes made it impossible for those who were best informed to present any full and careful statement of the entire subject. Hence they were unable to do justice to the question or to themselves.

It would seem that there was no profound interest in the question on the part of the Church, since the discussion has already died out of our public journals. The only publications on the subject of any importance, since the General Conference adjourned, have been the pamphlets of the vivacious Dr. Wise and the venerable Dr. Cummings. We have further proof of

the lack of general interest in this topic in the fact that neither the peppery wisdom of the former document nor the politer misconceptions of the latter, have been able to provoke public curiosity to the buying point. These wares have had no sale; nearly all that have got into circulation have been given away, with or without the authors' compliments; while some, mayhap, still lumber the obscurer shelves of their publishers. It would be safe enough, perhaps, to leave them to their natural attraction for a kindly oblivion; the only peril is, that one or two copies may some day be found to have escaped their proper doom, and be quoted as representative opinions of wise and candid men among our contemporaries. These publications having come into our hands with the authors' compliments, it seemed but polite to read them. But reading begat doubt; and doubt, study; and study, conviction that these venerable men are both a good deal in the wrong. One could wish to point out one or two mistakes of fact and of reasoning in these documents; since they have to do with really important subjects. It seems quite needless, in some eyes, to do this; for one of these pamphlets confidently asserts that our deeds of settlement for Church property decide the question so plainly that we shall not need to go beyond them to find abundant light. Says the Rev. Dr. Wise, respecting this matter: "Whoever would intelligently discuss any proposition to modify our Presiding Eldership must not fail to consider that it necessarily involves the nature and tenure of the appointing power in our ecclesiastical system. These are correlated questions, but the primary one is that of the appointing power." . . . .

We cite these words at the outset, because they indicate the proper order for our inquiry, and because they emphasize the intimate connection between correct ideas of the nature and tenure of the appointing power in the Methodist Episcopal Church and any adequate interpretation of that third restriction upon the power of the General Conference, which says: "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency." We cannot comprehend the full bearing of any proposed change in our existing method of ministerial appointments, until we have obtained a clear notion of the rights and duties of all parties to the change advocated.

Hence it will be convenient, before going further, to take a look at the origin of our Episcopacy, and the sources of its powers.

We all know that the venerable Wesley meant to establish a very moderate Episcopacy when he ordained Thomas Coke, and appointed Francis Asbury, to the superintendency of the Methodist societies in America. But we owe it to Mr. Asbury's firmness and wisdom, that our Episcopacy now has a far more moderate character than even Mr. Wesley intended it to assume. Had Mr. Asbury and Dr. Coke assented to Wesley's mandate and the unanimous wishes of the American preachers by assuming the office of Episcopacy in our Church, they would have possessed much larger powers than their successors have, and that, too, without opposition in this country. Rev. Thomas Ware, who was present at the Christmas Conference of 1784, says: "The announcement of the plan devised by him [Wesley] for our organization as a Church filled us with solemn delight;" that the letter appointing Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury Superintendents of the American Church was read, analyzed, and cordially approved; and that, to the best of their ability, they carried out its instructions in their form of Discipline. But while neither Wesley, Coke, nor any American preacher thought of any thing further as necessary to the due and full constitution of the new Episcopate, Francis Asbury sat apart in solemn meditation, and in prayer for divine guidance. Manifestly was it given; since from him alone came the suggestion that election by the American Conference must be conjoined with Wesley's original appointment before he could undertake the burdensome responsibilities of that solemn charge. In accordance with this wise advice, both Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury were chosen Bishops by the Christmas Conference, before they entered upon the discharge of episcopal duties in the American Connection. To this step Dr. Coke consented, notwithstanding its apparent implication that Wesley's appointment was insufficient, and its making the exercise of his episcopal functions here depend entirely upon the consent of the American Connection. To this wise and self-sacrificing temper of the first two Bishops of our Church we owe it that we never have had any party among us claiming that the American Methodist Episcopate is an Episcopate constituted solely by

Mr. Wesley's apostolic authority, and, therefore, providentially clothed with independent and divinely appointed attributes.

It was, probably, the stern hand of Mr. Asbury which traced the declaration that the "Conference have power to expel a Bishop, if they see it necessary." The Minutes of the Christmas Conference only say that the "Bishop shall be amenable to the body of the ministers and preachers."

It should be remarked, then, that the Superintendents of our Church derived their being and authority from Wesley's appointment and the concurrent voice of the assembled ministry; and that they would naturally retain all the powers that had previously belonged to Mr. Wesley's Assistants in America, plus the powers involved in Episcopal ordination. Nor did the facts, that it was decided on Mr. Asbury's prudent suggestion to make election by the Conference a condition precedent to future episcopal ordination, and to make the Bishops themselves responsible to the traveling ministry, introduce then or thereafter any serious change in episcopal powers and duties, down to 1808. They still presided over the Conferences; decided disputed matters after debate, without a vote of the Annual Conferences; shared freely in the discussions of those bodies; and fixed the appointments of the preachers. But we should remember that these proceedings were the act of an extraordinary convocation of the American Methodist ministry; that sixty of the eighty-three traveling preachers then in the Connection were at this Christmas Conference; that they were unanimous in their measures; and that Ware, Lee, and Garrettson concur in the statement that the action of the Conference was very acceptable to our Societies. Hence it appears that the Bishops of our Church derived their position, powers, and duties jointly from Mr. Wesley and the assembled American ministry; that the Conference to which they thus became amenable for their official behavior and which had power to expel them, was synonymous with "the body of the ministers and preachers;" and that the members of the Conference were present, not to represent a clerical constituency, but in their simple character as Methodist preachers in full connection. Such was the General Conference upon which the Bishops were, in their own language, "entirely dependent." The duty of making the appointments was one that had always been connected in America

Mr. Wesley's apostolic authority, and, therefore, providentially clothed with independent and divinely appointed attributes.

It was, probably, the stern hand of Mr. Asbury which traced the declaration that the "Conference have power to expel a Bishop, if they see it necessary." The Minutes of the Christmas Conference only say that the "Bishop shall be amenable to the body of the ministers and preachers."

It should be remarked, then, that the Superintendents of our Church derived their being and authority from Wesley's appointment and the concurrent voice of the assembled ministry; and that they would naturally retain all the powers that had previously belonged to Mr. Wesley's Assistants in America, plus the powers involved in Episcopal ordination. Nor did the fact, that it was decided on Mr. Asbury's prudent suggestion to make election by the Conference a condition precedent to their episcopal ordination, and to make the Bishops themselves responsible to the traveling ministry, introduce then or thereafter any serious change in episcopal powers and duties, down to 1808. They still presided over the Conferences; decided disputed matters after debate, without a vote of the Annual Conferences; shared freely in the discussions of those bodies; and fixed the appointments of the preachers. But we should remember that these proceedings were the act of an extraordinary convocation of the American Methodist ministry; that sixty of the eighty-three traveling preachers then in the Connection were at this Christmas Conference; that they were unanimous in their measures; and that Ware, Lee, and Garrettson concur in the statement that the action of the Conference was very acceptable to our Societies. Hence it appears that the Bishops of our Church derived their position, powers, and duties jointly from Mr. Wesley and the assembled American ministry; that the Conference to which they thus became amenable for their official behavior and which had power to expel them, was synonymous with "the body of the ministers and preachers;" and that the members of the Conference were present, not to represent a clerical constituency, but in their simple character as Methodist preachers in full connection. Such was the General Conference upon which the Bishops were, in their own language, "entirely dependent." The duty of making the appointments was one that had always been connected in America with the office of Assistant to Mr. Wesley; and it had been exercised in turn by Boardman, Rankin, and Asbury, as Wesley's representatives. It was natural, therefore, that this duty should be performed by the Bishops when they took the place of the Assistants; and this accordingly was done. Frequent efforts were made to withdraw this duty more or less from episcopal control, and in various ways to associate the Conferences more directly in such matters; but these endeavors always failed. So great was the irritation aroused by the action of the General Conference of 1792, upon the revolutionary proposals of Rev. J. O'Kelly, that a large secession resulted. This popular preacher had proposed to give any member of the Annual Conferences who should think himself aggrieved by the Bishop in his assignment to labor, a right of appeal to the Conference. The General Conference divided the question as follows: 1. "Shall the Bishop have the power of fixing the appointments of the preachers?" 2. "Shall a preacher be allowed an appeal?" The first question was decided unanimously in the affirmative; the second was decided negatively by a large majority.

O'Kelly and his friends withdrew in anger. They organized a secession that took away several thousand members from the Church. In some places they carried off entire churches; and some ministers joined them; and so they were able to set up Conferences of their own. Some of the Church buildings were claimed by the new party as their legal property; and some of these were abandoned to them in order to shun profitless controversy. These violent proceedings drew attention to the legal rights, powers, and privileges of the several parties involved. For the first time in our denominational history, events had raised the questions that inevitably arise in such cases, as to the rights of local societies, of the trustees of churches, of the Conferences, and as to the legal authority of the Bishops. Perhaps due attention had not been given to the subject in the past, and probably losses of Church property had resulted from this negligence. We infer this from the fact, that, in the published Minutes of the General Conference of 1796, the third question brought up is this: "What shall be done for the *security* of our preaching-houses, and the premises belonging thereto?" The reader of this question who is familiar with the situation of the Church between the General Conferences of 1792 and 1796

cannot reasonably doubt that the inquiry how to *secure* "our preaching-houses and the premises belonging thereto," had been provoked by sad experience during the O'Kellyan excitement, still raging in its hot wrath, of the legal insecurity of some of those houses and premises. Unless we are careful to study the action of the Conference of 1796 in its connection with the acts of disturbance and secession which arose in consequence of O'Kelly's defection, we shall not contemplate that action from the stand-point of those who took it. In answering their own question, the General Conference adopted a "plan of a deed of settlement" for such Church property, to be carried into effect in all cases, as far as local legislation in the respective states would allow. By the terms of this document, the legal trustees of such preaching-houses with their premises were to hold them: "In the further trust and confidence that they shall at all times, forever hereafter, permit such ministers and preachers belonging to the said Church, as shall from time to time, be duly authorized by the General Conferences of the said Methodist Episcopal Church, or by the yearly Conferences authorized by the said General Conference, and none others, to preach and expound God's holy word therein."

Not content with declaring guilelessly that the purpose of this form for a deed of settlement was to obtain "security for our preaching-houses and the premises belonging thereto," the "Journal of the General Conference" explains why local preachers, leaders of classes, and stewards are not mentioned in the deed; since they, too, are really invested with certain rights, for the due and orderly execution of their functions, in these ecclesiastial properties; and it uses the following comprehensive language: "We do hereby publicly declare, that we have no design of limiting in the least degree the privileges of any of the public officers of our Society, but by this deed *solely* intend to preserve the property of our Church." We are free to avow that the General Conference was thinking, in this place, not of the Bishops, but of certain minor officers of the Church; but we affirm that had the Bishops been in their minds, they would then have deliberately, instead of unconsciously, included these among "the officers of our Society." When this venerable body declared that they had "no design of limiting in the least degree the privileges of any of the public officers of our cannot reasonably doubt that the inquiry how to ensure "our preaching-houses and the premises belonging thereto," had been provoked by sad experience during the O'Kelly excitement, still raging in its hot wrath, of the legal insecurity of some of these houses and premises. Unless we are careful to study the action of the Conference of 1792 in its connection with the acts of disturbance and secession which arose in consequence of O'Kelly's defection, we shall not contemplate that action from the stand-point of those who took it. In answering their own question, the General Conference adopted a "plan of a deed of settlement" for such Church property, to be carried into effect in all cases, as far as local legislation in the respective states would allow. By the terms of this document, the legal trustees of such preaching-houses with their premises were to hold them: "In the further trust and confidence that they shall at all times, forever hereafter, permit such ministers and preachers belonging to the said Church, as shall from time to time, be duly authorized by the General Conferences of the said Methodist Episcopal Church, or by the yearly Conferences authorized by the said General Conference, and none others, to preach and expound God's holy word therein."

Not content with declaring guilelessly that the purpose of the form for a deed of settlement was to obtain "security for our preaching-houses and the premises belonging thereto," the "Journal of the General Conference" explains why local preachers, leaders of classes, and stewards are not mentioned in the deed; since they, too, are really invested with certain rights, for the due and orderly execution of their functions, in these ecclesiastical properties; and it uses the following comprehensive language: "We do hereby publicly declare, that we have no design of limiting in the least degree the privileges of any of the public officers of our Society, but by this deed solely intend to preserve the property of our Church." We are free to avow that the General Conference was thinking, in this place, not of the Bishops, but of certain minor officers of the Church; but we affirm that had the Bishops been in their minds, they would then have deliberately, instead of unconsciously, included them among "the officers of our Society." When it is remarkably declared that they had "no design of limiting in the least degree the privileges of any of the public officers of our

Society," they either consciously intended to include Bishops among these public officers, or they did not. If they did consciously include them, then they meant to leave episcopal rights and duties as they found them, without the least limitation by their action; just as the rights and duties of class-leaders, local preachers, and stewards were left unimpaired by it.

If they *unconsciously* included the Bishops among the officers whose privileges are to be unaffected by this action, then their language shows that they had no covert purpose of securing their own control over the episcopal power of fixing the appointments. Men with such a covert design could not be so unconscious; nay, they would not, since it would defeat their alleged design to increase, by better defining, their control over the Bishops. Then, too, the notion of any covert design is set aside by two decisive arguments: first, these are not the men for covert schemes; and, second, they assert that their *sole* design is the protection of the property of the Church. It should be needless to argue so plain a point; but it is not. Says Rev. Dr. Wise: "To secure its own control over this grant of episcopal power, [to fix the appointments of the preachers,] the General Conference, in 1796, adopted the plan of a deed of settlement, which legally invested the stationing power in itself." Now, there is not a word about such an intention in the "Journal of the General Conference" in 1796, nor is there any hint of it in any reputable historian of the Church. Jesse Lee was a member of that Conference, but his "History of the Methodists" reports no such story; Stevens and Bangs have no allusion to any such intention in this action. How did Dr. Wise find out the secret purpose of the General Conference of 1796 in this procedure? Was it a mere inference, hastily made—an inference drawn without even reading over the whole answer to the third question of the Minutes of that body? What moral right has a venerable man, a godly man, and a well-reputed writer, to speak so boldly on so grave a topic without more careful investigation? Dr. Wise has visibly led Dr. Cummings into error on this subject. The latter was quite too guileless when he wrote, "Our attention was first called to this subject of appointments by Rev. Dr. Wise in his able articles on the Presiding Elder question, since published in a

tract, and we use the quotations from Methodist authorities he has given." One cannot help a gentle wonder that before saying, "the deed of settlement adopted in 1796 shows that the General Conference intended to retain this power of appointing preachers," so grave a man as Dr. Cummings did not at least read the whole answer to this fatal question third.

Dr. Wise further declares, that "The importance of this clause in our deed of settlement, as expressive of the purpose of our fathers to legally invest the patronage of our pulpits in the General Conference, and not in the Bishops, cannot be overestimated." This language Dr. Cummings virtually repeats: "The deed of settlement, adopted in 1796, shows that the General Conference intended to retain this power of appointing preachers." Now the men who adopted the deed, themselves say that to protect the property was the *sole* purpose of their action. "Sole" means unaccompanied: hence a sole purpose must be unaccompanied by any covert act or open design to effect something else. This document shows on its face that local boards of trustees were to hold the Church property for the advantage of the local societies; that the right to be nominated to these pulpits belonged to the "members of the General Conference and of the Annual Conferences authorized by the General Conference," and to none others. In the light of O'Kelly's proceedings, we readily see the purpose of these terms. Should any future excitement carry off parts of societies or whole societies from their fealty to our Church, this clause still secured the ministers of the proper Conference, duly authorized by regular episcopal appointment, legal control of their pulpits. Should ministers break away from our communion, establish separate Conferences, and, by carrying off the majority of any one Conference pretend that they were the true Conference, and the legal occupants of the pulpits within its bounds, then our title deeds would show that only the Conference duly authorized by the General Conference could justly assert such claims. It is only when we realize the serious nature of O'Kelly's measures to a young and struggling denomination, that we can feel the naturalness of such action. Dr. L. M. Lee says of this excitement, "In the years of its greatest influence, 1793–95, there was a clear loss in the mem-

bership of the Church of 7,352;" while Jesse Lee makes it almost 11,000. And this loss befell a Church which had gained an average of more than 7,000 members yearly in the three years just preceding the strife. This is why the General Conference of 1796 says: "The preservation of our union and the progress of the work of God, indispensably require that the *free and full use of the pulpits should be in the hands of the General Conference and of the yearly Conferences authorized by them.*" Should anybody pretend that the phrase, "yearly Conferences authorized by the General Conference," points directly to the General Conference as the primary source of authority, whence all the powers of the Annual Conferences are derived, he would, notwithstanding favorable appearances, be deceived. There was no proper General Conference until 1792. Mr. Choate very correctly says, that it was the last in the series of administrative agencies which the Church developed for her needs. But it is evident that the thirteen Annual Conferences held in 1791, and the seventeen held in 1792, before the assembling of the first General Conference, on the first of November in that year, could not have needed or had any authority for their rights and powers from that later body. Hence we conclude, that by the expression, "yearly Conferences authorized by the General Conference," the men of 1796 meant to leave it in the power of the General Conference, should occasion arise, to declare any Annual Conference that should renounce its connectional ties and duties, and yet claim the ecclesiastical property it had once occupied, an unauthorized body, and so defeat its pretensions. What becomes, then, of the notion of Dr. Wise and Dr. Cummings, that the purpose of their action was to "retain the power of stationing preachers" in the General Conference itself?

Of course there was no more purpose of vesting the patronage of our pulpits in the Bishops, than there had been of making the General Conference the sole legal holder of all our preaching houses and their premises.

But if it were too much to expect men who quote an important historical document, in a debate of serious interest, to take the pains to read it through before producing it to the public, surely one might suppose that they would, at least, give due attention to the passages they do bring forward. Had our

honorable friends taken this reasonable precaution, they could hardly have failed to notice one palpable feature that should have moved them to most careful examination before they asserted so sweepingly that the purpose, or, at least, one purpose, of the action of 1796, was to assert for the General Conference an unlimited control over the matter of making appointments. Both the passages which they cite show a conjunction of the Annual Conferences with the General, which does not savor of sole possession on the part of the latter. We cannot suppose that the mention of the yearly Conferences in this grave, legal document, came about by accident; rather are they associated in this way with the General Conference with the intention of recognizing and protecting ministerial rights, which would have been left without legal recognition and protection but for this conjunction of the two kinds of Conferences in this form of a deed of settlement. Let us see if we can find out what rights these are, and to whom they belong. We shall not need to search long in order to gain ample light concerning this point. From the year 1792 down to 1800, any preacher in full connection with an Annual Conference was also a member of the General Conference. Had it been probable that this state of things would continue indefinitely, there would have been no necessity of mentioning any thing besides the General Conference in the securing clause of the deeds of trust for our Church property; since that would have protected the patronage rights of every minister in full connection throughout the Church. But so rapid had been the growth in numbers of the ministry and membership, that it must have been plain to all thoughtful minds that such a state of things could not long exist; it was certain that it would speedily be found indispensable to devise some way of limiting the number of the members of the General Conference. The moment it should happen that a class of men, in full connection with any Annual Conference, should be found not entitled to seats in the General Conference, a class of ministers would be found whose patronage rights to our pulpits would cease, unless the Annual Conferences were joined with the General Conference in the securing clause of our deeds of settlement. When the form of such deeds was drawn up, in 1796, it was impossible to tell how large this class of ministers, with unprotected

rights of pulpit patronage might ultimately become. For aught they could foresee, it might embrace half, or more than half, the entire traveling ministry, including many venerable for years and honorable service. No doubt, it was because such a condition of affairs was anticipated, in 1796, that our deeds of settlement were jealously framed, so as to render this flagrant injustice to any of our ministers forever impossible. Nor was this an ideal danger only. In the General Conference of 1800, it was ordained that only ministers in full connection with an Annual Conference, who had traveled four years, should have seats in the General Conference. Thus there would have been a class of clergymen in full connection from the year 1804 down to 1812, naked of all lawful claims to pulpit patronage, but for the watchful care which so drew our deeds of trust as to protect the rights of every traveling preacher in full connection. Nor do we lack evidence that this difficulty was greatly in the minds of the leading Methodists of that period. On the seventh day of July, 1791, at Lynn, Mass., Jesse Lee had placed in the hands of Bishop Asbury, "A paper proposing the election of not less than two, nor more than four preachers from each Conference, to form a General Conference in Baltimore in December, 1792, to be continued annually." The scheme was not adopted in all its details; but the bare fact that it had been proposed to establish a General Conference on such conditions that only one preacher in seven could have a seat in it, must have made the entire traveling ministry anxious to have their claims to pulpit patronage secured to all members in full of the yearly Conferences. These, then, were the considerations that led to the adoption of the deed of settlement which guards the rights of us all—the *Magna Charta* of the traveling preachers. Unless the authorities of our Church had been guided by this wise intention in adopting "the plan of a deed of settlement," they would not long have been able to say, as they do say in a note appended to this form of our property deeds, and first printed in their Minutes for 1796: "*Of course, the traveling preachers who are in full connection, assembled in their Conferences, are the patrons of the pulpits of our churches.*"

It is important to insist upon the fact that down to the year 1808, the General and Annual Conferences had ever been the

joint possessors of the patronage of our pulpits since these Conferences had grown up together, lest we be misled in regard to the amount of power in this matter conferred by the General Conference of 1808 upon its successor, the delegated General Conference. Speaking of this subject, Dr. Wise says: "The body of the preachers in 1808 conferred all the legislative authority they possessed, with a few slight restrictions, and all their legal rights, upon the delegated body which they at that time created." Thus Dr. Wise consents to the rule of common sense and of law, that the General Conference of 1808 could not confer upon its successor, the delegated General Conference, any authority or legal rights which it did not itself possess. Its members were not the lawful representatives of the Annual Conferences, and hence could set up no claim to dispose directly or indirectly of the rights of those Conferences. The one hundred and twenty-nine preachers who made up this General Conference were less than a fourth of the traveling ministers entitled to seats, and, therefore, could not pretend to be even a mass-meeting of the Conferences. Hence the General Conference of 1808 could only convey to the delegated General Conference such pulpit patronage as itself was in legal possession of—so much, and no more. We have already shown that the General Conference never was the sole legal patron of our pulpits, and hence could not make its successor their exclusive patron. As the Annual Conferences had always been associated in our deeds of trust with the General Conference before 1808 in possession of our pulpit patronage, so they must be associated after 1808 with the delegated General Conference in that possession. As the Annual Conferences were not present in the General Conference of 1808, either in person or by legal representatives, their rights remained untouched in the matter of patronage. If any one should doubt whether these rights of patronage had not really been transferred to the delegated General Conference in the grant of plenary power to make rules and regulations for our Church, without any such intention on the part of the General Conference of 1808, his doubt would have no good basis. In addition to the fact that no body of men can legally convey away rights that are held by others without being especially empowered for such action, power and rights cannot be conveyed in law unless there be an

intent to convey them. Rufus Choate states this principle as follows: "For, I take it that it is an elementary and universal proposition, that the powers of a representative and delegated body are exactly what the constituent creator meant to give it—no less and no more. I take this as a universal and elementary proposition, running throughout all agency, as between parties of substitution, of representation, of delegation, from the broadest to the narrowest, that the intention of the constituent defines and measures the power of the delegate." It ought, perhaps, to be stated that, though not speaking about the question of pulpit patronage, Mr. Choate is speaking expressly of the relations of the General Conference of 1808 and the delegated General Conference which it created. Hence it is that we can still say, "*Of course, the traveling preachers who are in full connection, assembled in their Conferences, are the patrons of the pulpits of our churches.*"

That this construction of the effect of the formation of the delegated General Conference upon the patronage rights of members in full conection of the Annual Conferences is the correct one, will also appear from the action of the General Conference of 1820 upon the subject of Church building. Among other things it is there said: "In future we will admit no charter, deed, or conveyance for any house of worship to be used by us, unless it be provided in such charter, deed, or conveyance that the trustees of said house shall at all times permit such ministers and preachers belonging to the said Methodist Episcopal Church as shall, from time to time, be duly authorized by the General Conference of the ministers of our Church, or by the Annual Conferences, to preach and expound God's holy word therein." This language constitutes a valuable commentary on the true intent of the securing clause in our Church property deeds. It shows clearly that the able committee which drew the report, and the General Conference which adopted it, recognized in the Annual Conferences, after 1808 as well as before, full power to authorize their own members to enjoy the legal possession of their pulpits, according to the established usages of the denomination. The chairman of the committee which devised this measure was Stephen G. Roszell, a great man in our Israel. Its resolutions were taken up and discussed in the Conference one by one, and efforts

were made made to amend them in several points. Solomon Sias, Elijah Hedding, Nathan Bangs, Ezekiel Cooper, J. B. Finley, and Joseph A. Merrill, sought to secure certain changes. This action, then, was not hasty; it underwent the critical scrutiny of some of the ablest men in Methodism. Yet, strange to say, not one of them dreamed of challenging its bold assumption that the Annual Conferences had never transferred their patronage rights to the delegated General Conference. Yet some of these men had borne a hand in making the constitution of the Church, and should have been quick to expose anything unconstitutional in such a report. And, notwithstanding the zeal of our reformers, this action has stood for fifty years unimpeached in our Book of Discipline.

We have dealt thus carefully with this subject, because we freely accept the statement we quoted from Dr. Wise, "That any proposition to modify the Presiding Eldership necessarily involves the nature and tenure of the appointing power in our ecclesiastical system; that these are correlative questions, but the primary one is that of the appointing power." Dr. Wise's assumption that the General Conference can by its own authority, and without concurrent action on the part of the Annual Conferences, remove any part of the appointing power out of the hands of the Episcopacy, rests ultimately upon his belief that the General Conference is the sole legal possessor of the patronage of the pulpits of our churches. By showing that this belief contradicts our title-deeds themselves, the assertions of those who drew our title-deeds, our subsequent legislation, and the fundamental principles of all agency, we have broken up his standing-ground, and shown by anticipation that he will hardly be likely, with such mistaken views in his mind, to reach any tenable position on the correlated question of the appointment of Presiding Elders. Were the General Conference really in legal possession of all the patronage of our pulpits, of course it would be able by a majority vote to dispose of that patronage as it pleased—Presiding Elders' positions with the rest. By showing that the rights of the Annual Conferences to pulpit patronage never were surrendered to the General Conference, we have inferentially shown that this latter body has not power of itself to change the mode of appointing the Presiding Elders.

As our ecclesiastical system always contemplated systematic changes in the occupancy of our pulpits, it was found necessary, in order to serve the highest weal of the Churches, handle with conscientious care the personal rights of the traveling preachers, and effect all changes with as much intelligence and as little friction as possible, to lodge the supreme authority of appointment in the hands of our Bishops. It was felt on all sides that such solemn and delicate responsibities ought to be reposed in holy, high-minded, and impartial men, raised by their position, as well as character, above the piques and jealousies that sometimes trouble even ministers. They came in process of time to need the assistance of trustworthy counselors, and Providence gave them in the guise of Presiding Elders. This system grew up by degrees, so far as the Presiding Elder is concerned; it was always what it now is, as far as the Bishop is concerned. The responsibility of making Presiding Elders was assumed by Bishop Asbury; and when his right to do it was questioned, the General Conference in 1792 confirmed his action, and defined the duties and responsibilities of that officer. Of course, attacks were made upon the appointing power. Some sought for a diminution of the Bishop's authority by giving any preacher, who deemed himself injured by any proposed appointment, a direct appeal to the Conference. This measure, as we have seen, was agitated, discussed fully, and by a large majority rejected. It was proposed in 1800 that the Conference should elect a committee to aid the Bishop in stationing the preachers. This motion was discussed and failed. The next proposal was, that power should be given to the yearly Conferences to nominate and elect the Presiding Elders. This was discussed and rejected. Next it was moved that there should be no Presiding Elders. After a long debate this, too, was lost.

We thus find that, in spite of considerable misgiving in some minds, the Church steadily adhered to the plan of keeping the power of stationing preachers and Presiding Elders in the hands of the Episcopacy, throughout the entire period of time when a bare majority vote would, perhaps, have been sufficient to make changes in the method of appointment.

In the year 1808 the General Conference provided for the establishment of a delegated General Conference, with full

r to make rules and regulations for the Church under cer- large restrictions. As respects the form of government the restriction says: "They [the General Conference] shall change or alter any part or rule of our government so as do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant ral Superintendency."

We contend that this restrictive rule continues the appoint- power in its integrity in the hands of the Bishops, with added sanction, that it shall remain in those hands until en from them by a concurrent majority vote of two thirds the General and three fourths in the Annual Conferences. view is opposed by Dr. Wise and others, who assert that third restriction only forbids the General Conference to troy our Episcopacy, or to make it diocesan instead of ral and itinerant. That I may do no injustice to the ers of this view, it shall be stated in their own language. Wise says, that the General Conference "can therefore do at it pleases, provided it does not destroy the itinerant and ral character of our Superintendency by making it dio- san and local." Dr. Cummings says, "It was designed not y to perpetuate the Episcopacy, but also a general in op- ition to a diocesan Episcopacy."

The most natural way of determining this issue would be to the history of the adoption of this restrictive rule in , but it will be more convenient to defer this task until we disposed of a mass of irrelevant arguments. Dr. Wise not think his position assailable, for he says: "To affirm contrary would be to insult the understanding of the rch." His first argument rests upon his doctrine that the ral Conference is the sole legal possessor of the rights of nage in the pulpits of our churches. As we have shown ctrine to be unfounded, and contradictory to the General rence of 1796, we cannot attach any value to conclusions d from it. His second argument is, that in the General rence of 1844, Dr. Durbin took this position in the debate rning the case of Bishop Andrew. This statement is true; what is its argumentative value? Dr. Durbin supported his n by two irrelevant (*pace tanti viri*) arguments. He that the Bishop derived his entire power from his election Bishop, and not from his ordination. When he was asked ower to make rules and regulations for the Church under certain large restrictions. As respects the form of government the hird restriction says: "They [the General Conference] shall ot change or alter any part or rule of our government so as o do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency."

We contend that this restrictive rule continues the appointng power in its integrity in the hands of the Bishops, with he added sanction, that it shall remain in those hands until aken from them by a concurrent majority vote of two thirds f the General and three fourths in the Annual Conferences. This view is opposed by Dr. Wise and others, who assert that he third restriction only forbids the General Conference to estroy our Episcopacy, or to make it diocesan instead of eneral and itinerant. That I may do no injustice to the ders of this view, it shall be stated in their own language. Dr. Wise says, that the General Conference "can therefore do what it pleases, provided it does not destroy the itinerant and general character of our Superintendency by making it diocesan and local." Dr. Cummings says, "It was designed not nly to perpetuate the Episcopacy, but also a general in opposition to a diocesan Episcopacy."

The most natural way of determining this issue would be to ace the history of the adoption of this restrictive rule in 808, but it will be more convenient to defer this task until we ave disposed of a mass of irrelevant arguments. Dr. Wise es not think his position assailable, for he says: "To affirm e contrary would be, to insult the understanding of the hurch." His first argument rests upon his doctrine that the eneral Conference is the sole legal possessor of the rights of atronage in the pulpits of our churches. As we have shown is doctrine to be unfounded, and contradictory to the General nference of 1796, we cannot attach any value to conclusions rived from it. His second argument is, that in the General nference of 1844, Dr. Durbin took this position in the debate ncerning the case of Bishop Andrew. This statement is true; t what is its argumentative value? Dr. Durbin supported his sition by two irrelevant (pace tanti viri) arguments. He id that the Bishop derived his entire power from his election Bishop, and not from his ordination. When he was asked what he would say to a Bishop, elected but unordained, who should himself ordain others, that wise man, who understood the art of prudent silence, never found his voice to reply. Dr. Durbin further quoted from the language of Bishops Asbury and Coke in their Notes on the Discipline published in 1796, and a pamphlet by John Dickens, printed in 1792, statements that the Bishops are perfectly subject to the General Conference. But Dr. Durbin forgot that all this was said at a time when the General Conference was equally open to all the traveling preachers in the Connection; so that he falls into the gravely erroneous assumption that the powers of the delegated General Conference over the Bishops are identical with those of the General Conference anterior to 1812, to which all ministers in full connection belonged. Yet this assumption he does not seek to justify, notwithstanding the whole scope of his argument revolved about it. The same objection may be taken to Bishop Hamline's memorable speech on the same sad occasion, the speech that built his own miter. And yet this justly memorable address was not without its weak points. The account given by Bishop Janes of its preparation, in Palmer's "Life of Hamline," shows that it was written, and polished, and committed to memory, under circumstances which left no time for an historical study of the complicated questions involved. The speech itself, as well as Bishop Janes's account, shows that its author had not studied the question in the light of our denominational history.

Dr. Cummings, who indorses the views of Dr. Wise, states his own position as follows: "The rule was designed not only to perpetuate Episcopacy, but a general in opposition to a diocesan Episcopacy." This author adduces eleven arguments for the confirmation of this position:—

"1. Mr. Winans, one of the ablest minds in the Church, in the General Conference of 1824, gave the rule this interpretation, when it was proposed to assign episcopal districts to the Bishops. Mr. Winans declared the measure contrary to the third restrictive rule, and therefore unconstitutional." Well, no doubt Mr. Winans was right; but how does proving that a particular measure is unconstitutional show that the rule in question only forbids the destruction of the Episcopacy or the making it diocesan? Mr. Winans had no intention then of speaking to our question.

Twenty years later he did turn his mind somewhat nearer it, and it may be well to note what this really able man says:—

> Does the General Conference possess this plenary administrative power? No, emphatically. Properly speaking, the General Conference, as such, possesses not a particle of original administrative power. All the administrative power it does possess is conferred upon it by its own action in another capacity. It is purely a creature having delegated attributes, and none others. . . . "The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church," and that is the whole of her power. Her administrative power was to be found solely in the rules and regulations she has made. . . . There would be immense hazard in allowing the General Conference to exercise discretionary, absolute authority, by means of the majority [vote].

This is what Mr. Winans says, when our question is clearly before his mind. The first argument, then, is *non sequiter* number one.

2. We are then told that "Another proof of the interpretation of the rule that it forbids a diocesan Episcopacy, is in the fact that when it was deemed desirable to give Missionary Bishops a limited territory, and not require them to participate in the General Superintendency, it was deemed necessary to change the rule by a constitutional process." We cannot track the logical processes by which a fact which only shows that we cannot have local Bishops without a concurrent majority of two thirds in the General and three fourths in the Annual Conferences giving it their approval, is made to prove that we can have an elective Presiding Eldership in our Conferences by a simple majority vote of the General Conference. The second argument, then, is *non sequiter* number two.

3. The next argument runs thus: "In several instances, the third restrictive rule is referred to by Bishops and others in discussions relative to Church usages and polity, and itinerant General Superintendency is used as synonymous with 'The plan of our itinerant General Superintendency,' and the purpose of the rule is represented to be, to guard against diocesan Episcopacy, and secure a general superintendency by the Bishops." Under this head an extract from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844 is produced, too long to be given here, except the italicized parts, which contain the pith of the whole. The Bishops say that it is proper that they should

Twenty years later he did turn his mind somewhat nearer it, and it may be well to note what this really able man says:—

> Does the General Conference possess this plenary administrative power? No, emphatically. Properly speaking, the General Conference, as such, possesses not a particle of original administrative power. All the administrative power it does possess is conferred upon it by its own action in another capacity. It is purely a creature, having delegated attributes, and none others. . . . "The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church," and that is the whole of her power. Her administrative power was to be found solely in the rules and regulations she has made. . . . There would be immense hazard in allowing the General Conference to exercise discretionary, absolute authority, by means of the majority [vote].

This is what Mr. Winans says, when our question is clearly before his mind. The first argument, then, is *non sequitur* number one.

2. We are then told that "Another proof of the interpretation of the rule that it forbids a diocesan Episcopacy, is in the fact that when it was deemed desirable to give Missionary Bishops a limited territory, and not require them to participate in the General Superintendency, it was deemed necessary to change the rule by a constitutional process." We cannot track the logical processes by which a fact which only shows that we cannot have local Bishops without a concurrent majority of two thirds in the General and three fourths in the Annual Conferences giving it their approval, is made to prove that we can have an elective Presiding Eldership in our Conferences by a simple majority vote of the General Conference. The second argument, then, is *non sequitur* number two.

3. The next argument runs thus: "In several instances, the third restrictive rule is referred to by Bishops and others in discussions relative to Church usages and polity, and itinerant General Superintendency is used as synonymous with 'The plan of our itinerant General Superintendency,' and the purpose of the rule is represented to be, to guard against diocesan Episcopacy, and secure a general superintendency by the Bishops." Under this head an extract from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844 is produced, too long to be given here, except the italicised parts, which embody the pith of the whole. The Bishops say that it is proper that they should

say, "that the form of episcopal operation is *general, embracing the whole work in connectional order, and not diocesan or sectional.*" Again they say, "If we have taken a correct view of the subject, *our Superintendency must be itinerant and not local.*" And, finally, it is said that it is "the duty of the Superintendent *to travel through the connection at large.*" The point, then, of this argument is, that these sentences are employed by the Bishops as synonymous with the phrase in the third restrictive rule, "the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency." Strictly speaking, the word synonym marks two words which have not the slightest difference in meaning; and of course no two words are quite synonymous; still less can two phrases be strictly synonymous. Whately tells us, that synonym is a term "Generally applied to words which would be more correctly termed *pseudo-synonyms*, that is, words having a shade of difference, yet with sufficient resemblance of meaning to make them liable to be confounded together." In the former sense, then, we deny that these sentences and phrases are synonymous, while in the looser sense we confess that they are synonymous. And the sophism, or paralogism, in the argument of our good friend, lies in assuming that things which are synonymous in the looser sense are so in the strict sense; as though *pseudo-synonyms* were true synonyms; or, to drop technical language, the mistake lies in assuming that things which are more or less different from each other are precisely alike. In this case the shade of difference which is ignored in the argument covers the whole point in debate. This third argument, then, is *non sequitur* number three. I cannot help adding, in this instance, that a little more candor would, perhaps, have kept our excellent friend from this logical blunder. The first name signed to the Bishops' Address in 1844, is Joshua Soule. Now Joshua Soule's entire public life was marked by the sternest opposition to this theory; how came he, then, to send forth in so important a document, over his own sign-manual, a denial of his own especial doctrines?

4. The next argument is, that in the Methodist Church Property Case, Judge Fancher offered this Episcopal Address to the Court, "as showing the powers of the General Conference with respect to the Bishops as to the system and polity of the

Church, which requires that the Bishops travel through the Connection at large." No doubt this Address was good for the purpose contemplated by Judge Fancher; but where is the proof that he held or consented to the view of our kind friend that a *pseudo-synonym* is a true synonym, that things partly the same are wholly so? Yet this is what they must show, or Judge Fancher cannot help him. The fourth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number four.

5. The next argument is, that the General Conference Committee on the case of Bishop Andrew in 1844, quoted from the Bishops' Address of that year the passage already introduced in relation to the itinerant and General Superintendency which the Bishops are required to maintain, and thus sanctioned those views. Furthermore, since the General Conference adopted this report, they also concurred in them. Having already shown the logical absurdity of such a perversion of the Bishops' language, and the special injustice to Bishop Soule of imputing to him views which he ever denounced as unsound, it might be well enough to leave the matter with the simple remark that the repetition of a mistaken argument does not add weight to it. But it should, perhaps, be added, that the very nature of the charge against Bishop Andrew, namely, that his connection with slavery made it impossible for him to share in the functions of our itinerant General Superintendency, tended to withdraw men's minds from every thing else but the one point of alarming offense. How, under such circumstances, could the question arise whether the appointing power had been withheld from the too nimble hands of a General Conference majority? They were overshadowed by the portentous aspects of hastening changes and unavoidable division. They were in no mood for definitions. The fifth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number five.

6. We next find a long passage taken from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1852. The specially significant part would appear to be the following: The Bishops are required to travel through the Connection at large, and exercise a personal oversight. So important did our fathers deem this feature in the economy of Methodism as to guard it by constitutional provision, and put it beyond the legitimate exercise of the powers of the General Conference, by a restriction

which declares, 'they shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency.'" Here, again, we are met by the old assumption, that whenever men have occasion to mention any one feature of the itinerant General Superintendency, they may be held to have intended a description of all the features thereof. When we say that a boy has a nose, must we mean that this is the poor lad's sole feature? This sixth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number six.

7. The next argument is stated in terms following: "In the General Conference of 1836 Bishop Roberts tendered his resignation, which was not accepted, and one of his reasons was, that owing to failing health he was unable to perform the duties required of a Bishop by the itinerant General Superintendency. He gave, in so doing, his idea of the meaning of the rule." When a sick man names one special feature of the duties laid upon him by his office as requiring him to resign it, are we to suppose that he intends an exhaustive description thereof? It seems more natural that the sick person should only name the particular topic under which the disability in his case arises. This seventh argument, then, is *non sequiter* number seven.

8. The next argument is in the form following: "In the argument in favor of the resolution adopted in 1844 relative to Bishop Andrew, it was repeatedly and emphatically urged that he could not participate in the itinerant General Superintendency. To confine him to any section of the work would be to curtail the itinerant General Superintendency, and to introduce a particular or sectional superintendency." Well, that was a conclusive statement of the difficulty in Bishop Andrew's case. But did the men who made it intend in any way to set forth the doctrine that the third restrictive rule only prohibits a diocesan Episcopacy in our Church? Many members of our Annual Conferences must have used that very argument themselves in regard to Bishop Andrew; if any one of them, then, supposed that he was giving color to conclusions which our kind friend now draws from that argument, who ever heard of the fact? The eighth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number eight.

9. The next proof alleged is the argument of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, that a division of the Church would violate the third restrictive rule. Mr. Ewing said: "Now, if the General Conference can divide the Church into two or more parts, the General Superintendency of the Bishops is at once destroyed, and becomes special over each special fragment of the Church so divided." But how does a good argument against the power of the General Conference to divide the Church, because that division would be an affront to the third restrictive rule, show that this rule allows the General Conference to remove, by a majority vote, the power of appointment from episcopal control? The ninth argument, then, turns out *non sequiter* number nine.

10. The next argument adduced is in these words: "The general mode of stating the force of the third restrictive rule is represented by its presentation by Dr. Stevens in his 'History of the Methodist Episcopal Church;' namely: "The General Conference 'shall not do away Episcopacy nor the itinerancy of the Episcopate.'" How does the fact that an author makes a condensed statement of the effect of any given rule, show that the rule does not include something further than is there stated? Our good friend might have proved, in the same way, that this restriction does not require our Bishops to be itinerant. Let some writer, who is thinking of the special governmental difference between our Church and Presbyterian bodies, say that this rule demands that we shall retain Episcopacy, and the thing is done for us, if it can be done as our friend assumes. Hon. D. Lord, whom our friends cite with special praise, summarizes the third restrictive rule thus: "they should not change their hierarchy." Is this a full description of the third restriction? Certainly Mr. Lord would not pretend so. This tenth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number ten.

The eleventh argument is as follows:—

> We present as an authority worthy of special attention, the interpretation of this rule by an eminent lawyer, Hon. D. Lord, given in the New York Methodist Church Property Case. Mr. Lord states that the interpretation he gives, as the one the language requires, is in some respects unfavorable to his clients. It has, therefore, the more force. After quoting the rule, "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant

9. The next proof alleged is the argument of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, that a division of the Church would violate the third restrictive rule. Mr. Ewing said: "Now, if the General Conference can divide the Church into two or more parts, the General Superintendency of the Bishops is at once destroyed, and becomes special over each special fragment of the Church so divided." But how does a good argument against the power of the General Conference to divide the Church, because that division would be an affront to the third restrictive rule, show that this rule allows the General Conference to remove, by a majority vote, the power of appointment from episcopal control? The ninth argument, then, turns out *non sequitur* number nine.

10. The next argument adduced is in these words: "The general mode of stating the force of the third restrictive rule is represented by its presentation by Dr. Stevens in his 'History of the Methodist Episcopal Church;' namely: "The General Conference 'shall not do away Episcopacy nor the itinerancy of the Episcopate.'" How does the fact that an author makes a condensed statement of the effect of any given rule, show that the rule does not include something further than is there stated? Our good friend might have proved, in the same way, that this restriction does not require our Bishops to be itinerant. Let some writer, who is thinking of the special governmental differences between our Church and Presbyterian bodies, say that this rule demands that we shall retain Episcopacy, and the thing is done for us, if it can be done as our friend assumes. Hon. D. Lord, whom our friends cite with special praise, summarizes the third restrictive rule thus: "they should not change their hierarchy." Is this a full description of the third restriction? Certainly Mr. Lord would not pretend so. The tenth argument, then, is *non sequitur* number ten.

The eleventh argument is as follows:—

> We present as an authority worthy of special attention, the interpretation of this rule by an eminent lawyer, Hon. D. Lord, given in the New York Methodist Church Property Case. Mr. Lord states that the interpretation he gives, as the one the language requires, is in some respects unfavorable to his clients. It has, therefore, the more force. After quoting the rule, "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant

General Superintendency," he says: "Destroy is the word. Without this restriction, could they not have altered and done away with Episcopacy? could they not have destroyed the General Superintendency? . . . What does the phrase, 'so as to do away Episcopacy,' mean? Why, that they may vary Episcopacy; they may limit it, but shall not *destroy* the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency; they may make the itinerancy, instead of being absolutely general, general according to circumstances; they may excuse a Bishop from running all over the United States; they may excuse a man disqualified by his peculiar notions, and not disturb the plan of itinerant General Superintendency. I know very well the extent to which we go for these gentlemen's benefit in the case of Bishop Andrew, when we make these remarks. But we cannot read this article without seeing, that, whatever can be done in consistence with the language and spirit of the third restrictive Article, the General Conference can do. They, therefore, can do any thing with the plan of Episcopacy, except doing it away. That is their power without regard to the Annual Conferences." We do not assent to all the inferences of Mr. Lord, but his interpretation of the rule shows that to a practical man, well skilled in interpreting various documents, it has not the force given it by those who deny that it is constitutional to elect Presiding Elders. The opinions expressed in the quotations given are unbiassed and non-partisan, so far as the question under discussion is concerned. They show that the extent of the powers of the General Conference is more than sufficient to cover the ground we claim.

In this case, we have an eminent lawyer trying to find some way of maintaining that Bishop Andrew had done nothing in violation of the third restrictive rule, without having his thoughts occupied in the remotest way with the appointing power. Of what consequence is it, then, to our question, that he never so much as glances at the appointment of preachers by the Bishops? So completely is the latter question shut out of consideration by its total disconnection with their contentions, that we cannot remember a single allusion to it by any lawyer engaged upon the Methodist Church Property case. There was no occasion for discussing it, and the Index to Sutton's full report of that case, among all its other topics, gives no hint that any thing was there said concerning it. This eleventh argument, then, is *non sequiter* number eleven.

Eleven *non sequiters* brought together to prove a single untenable position, show how hard it is to find a good argument for a doctrine which has no foundation in our history, our legislation, or our administration; for surely our good friend would not

have avoided sound arguments could he have found them. It finally dawned upon our friend that his arguments were not relevant, and, under an uneasy sense of the fact, he sought to relieve his logical embarrassment in the following remarkable paragraph:—

> We are fully aware that in reply to our argument from so many quotations, (perhaps too many,) it will be said the argument is needless, inasmuch as it is admitted that the restrictive rule forbids a local or diocesan Episcopacy; but it is claimed it also forbids, as implied in the word plan, the taking away from the Bishops the power to appoint the Presiding Elders. But this reply, we allege, utterly fails to meet the point. We present these opinions from so many sources, and given under such diverse circumstances, as showing the meaning of the rule, and that the argument based on the word plan is fanciful and without foundation. They show that the phrase, "plan of our itinerant General Superintendency," means simply itinerant General Superintendency. There is not a single intimation that any thing more is implied.

If we are able to comprehend this statement, it sets up the claim, that, although on page fifty-five of the pamphlet we are examining, the first of these eleven arguments immediately follows this statement, The rule "was designed not only to perpetuate the Episcopacy, but also a general in opposition to a diocesan Episcopacy," nevertheless it was not intended to prove that proposition, but something quite different. And though the ten other arguments follow directly after the first, nevertheless they, too, are not intended to prove the point which they seem alleged to prove, but that a certain argument of ours, founded on the word plan, is fanciful and without foundation. Our only comment is, that the production of twelve men who have occasion to treat the word plan (though several of them neither think nor speak of the word plan) only as it has to do with the itinerant and general character of our Superintendency, and never as it has to do with the appointing power of the Bishops, to prove what they never dreamed of proving, and what several of them ever deemed erroneous, is a wholly unjustifiable procedure in logic. It seems like an after-thought and an evasion. That this is the fact in regard to this remarkable paragraph will appear before we get through with it. For, though seeming to deny that these arguments are adduced for the purpose of proving that the third restrictive rule exhausts itself in forbidding the doing away of our itinerant and General Suhave avoided sound arguments could he have found them. It finally dawned upon our friend that his arguments were not relevant, and, under an uneasy sense of the fact, he sought to relieve his logical embarrassment in the following remarkable paragraph:—

> We are fully aware that in reply to our argument from so many quotations, (perhaps too many,) it will be said the argument is needless, inasmuch as it is admitted that the restrictive rule forbids a local or diocesan Episcopacy; but it is claimed it also forbids, as implied in the word *plan*, the taking away from the Bishops the power to appoint the Presiding Elders. But this reply, we allege, utterly fails to meet the point. We present these quotations from so many sources, and given under such diverse circumstances, as showing the meaning of the rule, and that the argument based on the word *plan* is fanciful and without foundation. They show that the phrase, "plan of our itinerant General Superintendency," means simply itinerant General Superintendency. There is not a single intimation that any thing more is implied.

If we are able to comprehend this statement, it sets up the claim, that, although on page fifty-five of the pamphlet we are examining, the first of those eleven arguments immediately follows this statement, The rule "was designed not only to perpetuate the Episcopacy, but also a general in opposition to a diocesan Episcopacy," nevertheless it was not intended to prove that proposition, but something quite different. And though the ten other arguments follow directly after the first, nevertheless they, too, are not intended to prove the point which they seem adduced to prove, but that a certain argument of ours, founded on the word plan, is fanciful and without foundation. Our only comment is, that the production of twelve men who have occasion to treat the word plan (though several of them neither think nor speak of the word plan) only as it has to do with the itinerant and general character of our Superintendency, and never as it has to do with the appointing power of the Bishops, to prove what they never dreamed of proving, and what several of them even deemed erroneous, is a wholly unjustifiable procedure in logic. It seems like an after-thought and an evasion. That this is the fact in regard to this remarkable paragraph will appear before we get through with it. For—though seeming to deny that these arguments are adduced for the purpose of proving that the third restrictive rule otherwise than is forbidding the doing away of our itinerant and General Superintendency, but rather to show that the word plan had no special force or meaning in that rule, yet the author involuntarily corrects himself before he closes his explanation. Note his own terms: "We present these opinions from so many sources, and given under such diverse circumstances, *as showing clearly the meaning of the rule, and that the argument based upon the word plan is fanciful and without foundation.*" That is, they are produced for the sake of proving that the third restriction only forbids the General Conference to do away Episcopacy or make it diocesan, and that any argument against this view, based on the word plan, has no good ground. Well, then, why introduce them as though they had been only meant to prove the first of these two points? why afterward deny that they had been brought in to prove the first point, but rather the second, about the word plan? and, finally, why assert that they are meant to demonstrate both points all within the compass of a single page? Clearly the author was troubled by a secret consciousness that these reasons did not serve their original purpose, hoped that they would help him against the word plan, and finally made bold again to assert that they determined both points. Under another head, we shall attend to the force of the word plan. The arguments that have been examined are the best we have been able to find in favor of the views combatted. Our friends have been quite industrious, and are skillful enough to know a good argument when they see one. Their position is their peril; it is hard to fight against historical truth.

Having learned by incontrovertible evidence that the General Conference never was the sole legal possessor of all the pulpit patronage of our Churches, and that the best arguments alleged to prove that the third restrictive rule merely forbids the General Conference to destroy Episcopacy or make it diocesan are untenable, we are now prepared for an intelligent and candid inquiry into the true and full meaning of the third restrictive rule. Let us remember the form of that rule: "They [the General Conference] shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency." Both parties to the preset controversy agree that this rule requires us to perpetuate an itinerant and General

superintendency until the requisite majorities in the General and Annual Conferences shall decree changes in its form or its complete destruction. Our friends contend that these prohibitions exhaust the meaning of the rule, so that the General Conference may, by a simple majority vote, transfer the appointing power from the Bishops to other parties. In this instance they propose only to transfer the appointment of the Presiding Elders to the Annual Conferences—not that they could not rightfully go further than this, but that for the present they are satisfied with this measure. We contend that this rule was framed for the purpose of leaving the power of making appointments to our pulpits in the hands of the Bishops, where the framers of the rule had found it, with the added provision that it should remain in those hands until removed by the requisite concurrent majorities in the General and Annual Conferences. This contention we hope to make good by lucid and decisive reasons.

If we go back to the General Conference of 1808, read the "Journal" of that body, and combine with the record of their doings such statements of facts as we can collect from other sources, we shall be conducted resistlessly to the conclusion we have pointed out. We shall not deal with the history of that General Conference at large, but only so far as it is related to our controversy.

We saw some time since, that efforts had been made prior to 1808 to take the power of appointing Presiding Elders from the hands of the Bishops, and lodge it in the hands of the Annual Conferences. Then the General Conferences could, perhaps, have done this by a simple majority vote, with only formal and not material injustice. By securing concurrent action on the part of the Annual Conferences, they might have drawn all the patronage rights of the traveling ministry into their own hands. They never were able to carry the former measure through the General Conference, and, perhaps for that reason, the latter was never mentioned. Had both measures prevailed, our connectional deeds of trust must have been changed so as to show that the General Conference was the sole patron of all our pulpits.

Among the declared purposes for which it was proposed in 1808 to establish a delegated General Conference, one is "be-superintendency until the requisite majorities in the General and Annual Conferences shall decree changes in its form or its complete destruction. Our friends contend that these prohibitions exhaust the meaning of the rule, so that the General Conference may, by a simple majority vote, transfer the appointing power from the Bishops to other parties. In this instance they propose only to transfer the appointment of the Presiding Elders to the Annual Conferences—not that they could not rightfully go further than this, but that for the present they are satisfied with this measure. We contend that this rule was framed for the purpose of leaving the power of making appointments to our pulpits in the hands of the Bishops, where the framers of the rule had found it, with the added provision that it should remain in those hands until removed by the requisite concurrent majorities in the General and Annual Conferences. This contention we hope to make good by lucid and decisive reasons.

If we go back to the General Conference of 1808, read the "Journal" of that body, and combine with the record of their doings such statements of facts as we can collect from other sources, we shall be conducted resistlessly to the conclusion we have pointed out. We shall not deal with the history of that General Conference at large, but only so far as it is related to our controversy.

We saw some time since, that efforts had been made prior to 1808 to take the power of appointing Presiding Elders from the hands of the Bishops, and lodge it in the hands of the Annual Conferences. Then the General Conferences could, perhaps, have done this by a simple majority vote, with only formal and not material injustice. By securing concurrent action on the part of the Annual Conferences, they might have drawn all the patronage rights of the traveling ministry into their own hands. They never were able to carry the former measure through the General Conference, and, perhaps for that reason, the latter was never mentioned. Had both measures prevailed, our connectional deeds of trust must have been changed so as to show that the General Conference was the sole patron of all our pulpits.

Among the declared purposes for which it was proposed in 1808 to establish a delegated General Conference, one is "because it is of the greatest importance to preserve our form of government sacred and inviolate." It is well known that Asbury, Whatcoat, Garrettson, Lee, Cooper, M'Kendree, and others had been quite anxious to settle the government on a firmer basis than had as yet been found for it. By some parties it was supposed that the General Conference had quite unlimited power over the Church—that they could bind and loose at pleasure. A simple majority vote might abolish the general rules, overturn our ecclesiastical system, and repeal our articles of faith. Such a condition of things was too perilous to continue; but how to terminate it was a question which greatly exercised the minds of the leading Methodists. To this end it had been proposed seventeen years before to create a delegated General Conference. In the General Conference of 1808, on the 10th of May, Bishop Asbury drew the attention of the members to this important subject. It was decided to raise a Committee of Fourteen, taking two from each Annual Conference, who were to consider the question and report some plan for the delegated General Conference. It should be noticed that the two representatives of each Conference in the Committee of Fourteen were appointed by the men from their own Conference. This shows that the chair did not make up the committee to please itself; but that its members, doubtless, knew and shared the views of their respective Conferences. In this way we see at the start that the movement was spontaneous and unconstrained. By general confession this was one of the ablest committees ever formed in the General Conference. This large and wise committee met in order to mold the business intrusted to them into consistent shape. They had a long and free conversation on the provisions to be introduced into their report. It was then proposed that a subcommittee of three should be appointed to draw up a report, which was to be presented at a subsequent meeting to the full committee for acceptance or modification; and, after approval by them, it was to be laid before the General Conference. This subcommittee consisted of Ezekiel Cooper, Joshua Soule, and Philip Bruce. The composition of this subcommittee is not without its own significance. This is the first clear hint we have as to the course things are taking in the Committee of Fourteen. Ezekiel Cooper had long been a strong advocate

of the election of Presiding Elders by the Annual Conferences. He represented that view in the subcommittee. With him was associated Joshua Soule, a decided advocate of leaving the appointing power undiminished in the hands of the Episcopacy. He will be sure to defend and expound his own views in the subcommittee. With them is associated Philip Bruce, of the Virginia Conference. We should naturally look to find Jesse Lee, the ablest of the Virginians, on this subcommittee, instead of Mr. Bruce. We certainly should have found him there, but for the fact that he would have sided with Cooper on the Presiding Elder question. The Committee of Fourteen, therefore, had some design in putting Philip Bruce upon this subcommittee—a man of mark, a close friend of M'Kendree and Asbury. He is placed there that he may turn the scale against Cooper's views, and indorse Mr. Soule's conservative work. Yet he is an able man, who can enforce his own views upon occasion. He has long been the trusty adviser of Bishop Asbury, and has often put himself into sharp opposition to Jesse Lee's attacks upon the concession to the Bishops of power to appoint Presiding Elders. Only a year earlier he had striven in vain to keep Lee from carrying the Virginia Conference against the proposed extraordinary convocation of the General Conference. His presence on the subcommittee shows that Mr. Cooper is not to mold the report to his own will. The subcommittee next met, exchanged sentiments, and agreed that each member should draw up a separate paper, embodying such provisions as he deemed proper; that they should meet again, read the different plans, accept and modify the one that seemed best, and report that to the full committee. When they did come together next day, Cooper had a scheme drawn out in due order; Soule, also, had one in proper form; while Bruce had nothing on paper. On hearing the two papers read, Bruce agreed with that of Soule; and though Cooper pleaded for his own scheme with his usual ability, he could not prevail. Here we see the will of the majority that had shut out Jesse Lee and put Philip Bruce on the subcommittee, taking form through the action of this very man in a report intended to leave the appointing power intact in the hands of the Bishops, and guarded against too easy changes by constitutional restriction upon the powers of the General Conference.

The two plans were next laid before the whole committee, who again showed their bent by adopting the plan of Joshua Soule. Some unimportant changes were made, and then the committee reported this carefully-matured plan to the General Conference. There had been six days for discussion, and the subject was entirely familiar to their minds. There was no necessity for historical study, and no doubt as to the convictions of the denomination. There is no question that the main objectors to the report in the committee were Ezekiel Cooper and Jesse Lee. Cooper certainly renewed before the full committee those pleadings which had been so vain in the subcommittee, and Jesse Lee would certainly have aided his plea that the appointing power of the Bishops might not be guarded by constitutional provisions. But before following the matter into the General Conference, it may be well to note what was the form of the third restrictive rule, as presented in the language of Mr. Cooper, in contrast with the form offered by Mr. Soule, and embodied in our constitution. Mr. Cooper proposed that the third restriction should run thus: "They [the General Conference] shall not do away Episcopacy nor reduce our ministry to a Presbyterial parity." Joshua Soule proposed that it should stand as it has stood for seventy years: "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency." No doubt Joshua Soule meant to protect and perpetuate the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency, clothed with every attribute, and fulfilling every function which had appeared in it since 1784, save one or two minor items of restriction. It seems reasonable to think that he used the word plan with the intention of covering more than our friends admit; because, with their conception of its meaning, it becomes an idle, purposeless word. Read Joshua Soule's report as it appears in the "Journal of the General Conference" of 1808. The document is simple and orderly, with hardly an unnecessary word, unless this phrase of the third restrictive rule contains it. Had the writer only meant to say what our good friends suppose he intended, he needed merely to write: "They shall not do away Episcopacy nor make it diocesan." Why did this able man, in a severely simple document, here resort to so cumbrous a mode

of expression, if his meaning was so simple? One cannot avoid the inference from Mr. Soule's well-known views, and from this singular form of expression, that he meant to forbid the delegated General Conference to destroy the plan by which episcopal supervision is brought to bear under our economy upon all our ecclesiastical operations. And unless the Committee of Fourteen, in the first instance, and the General Conference after them, had given it this range of meaning, we cannot make out why they did not purge away this cumbersome accumulation of words, and conform its phraseology to the general rhetorical severity of the document. Then, too, if Joshua Soule was in agreement with Jesse Lee and Ezekiel Cooper on this subject, as our excellent friends allege, why did none of them suggest that this phrase might some day be cited to show that the General Conference of 1808 meant to tie up the delegated General Conference as to the appointing power of the Bishops. We shall see that Joshua Soule knew how to make concessions, and his severe taste would have made him more than willing to sacrifice a phrase to escape an ambiguity. We think this will be sufficient answer to all objections made from our use of the word "plan." There could be small doubt that Messrs. Lee and Cooper would renew their attacks upon the committee's report on the floor of the General Conference. We all know that in conventions, legislative bodies, and conferences, such matters take a regular and uniform course when the subjects involved are important and familiar. The most effective objections and difficulties are rarely out of the minds even of a subcommittee, while in a full committee every thing relevant is sure to be urged against the scheme of the majority. If these objections are set aside, and the matter is not very important, one may never hear of them again on the floor of the deliberating assembly. But if the matter be weighty, and the contentions of the committee keen and strenuous, the objections raised in committee appear afresh in the shape of a minority report, or of efforts to modify the report which they have vainly combatted in its inception. In this instance no minority report was presented, and we must seek light as to the objections offered in the committee by noticing the efforts for modification attempted when the discussion of the report occurred on the floor of the General Conference. When the

report was laid before the Conference, on the 16th of May, it was discussed for some hours, when, in the afternoon session, Mr. Ezekiel Cooper rose to make a motion—the same Mr. Cooper who had proposed in the committee that the third restrictive rule should run: "They [the General Conference] shall not do away Episcopacy, nor reduce our ministry to a Presbyterial parity;" a formula that would certainly have left the mode of appointing Presiding Elders as well as other preachers entirely in the hands of the General Conference—and who, we are told, has not, perhaps, so much as heard or spoken a word in the debates of the committee concerning the bearing of the proposed rule upon the way of appointing Presiding Elders—this same Ezekiel Cooper gets up, we say, and moves that the Conference "postpone the present question to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject." This was carried. Then the same Ezekiel Cooper, who could not get the Committee of Fourteen to be as vague on this point as he wished, offers a resolution in these words: "Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose, by ballot, its own Presiding Elders." This shows one point he was aiming at in the purposely vague formula of the third restrictive rule he had offered, notwithstanding our kind but somewhat credulous friends believe he never has spoken or heard of Presiding Elders in the business up to this point. Anyhow, the old contentions on this subject break out afresh; after a day and a half of discussion, in which our good friends somewhat too credulously think Jesse Lee never uttered a word on behalf of this, his favorite measure, the vote is taken, and Cooper's resolution is rejected: yeas 52, nays 73. Thus Lee and Cooper are both defeated on their favorite measure.

The next day the discussion of the report of the Committee of Fourteen was renewed. Jesse Lee urged two considerations against it. First, it would be likely to provoke jealousy among the members of the Conferences by electioneering devices, and it might keep the older members at home, and thus send unripe men to the highest functions, legislative, administrative, and judicial, in our economy. So earnest was his struggle and so effective were his arguments as to greatly move the elderly men who mostly composed the General Conference of 1808. They

fear that under the system of electing delegates to represent the Annual Conferences, a considerable part of the ablest men would, no doubt, be left at home. Naturally they deemed themselves better fitted to represent the Conferences than those younger men whose brilliant qualities render them general favorites. Sincere as Jesse Lee was in making this appeal, it was a near approach to demagogism. This *argumentum ad hominem* did more execution upon the report of the Committee of Fourteen than Cooper's assault on it by means of his motion to make the Presiding Eldership elective. When the vote was taken on the first resolution of the report it was lost by a majority of seven. Great was the sorrow among the friends of the report, and great was the indignation of the remoter Conferences, whose few votes were overborne by the disproportionately large number of members from the central Conferences. There was danger that the men who came from the distant Conferences would at once depart. The New England men packed up, and were on the point of leaving, when Elijah Hedding, and others of similar stamp, prevailed on them to remain and make one more effort to pass the report. Some slight changes were made in its details; but they were not satisfactory to Jesse Lee, and he girded himself afresh to the work of defeat. His most effective plea still was, that seniority in the service of the Church, rather than election, ought to be the basis of membership in the General Conference. In some momentary lull of his storm of arguments, Joshua Soule rose and moved that each Conference should have power to send up its members to the new body by seniority or choice—a motion which suddenly took Lee's standing-ground from under him. Lee had long been an advocate of Conference rights, and he dared not deny the Conferences the right of choice between his own plan of seniority and Soule's plan of election. He left the floor in some confusion, punched Joshua Soule in the ribs, and said: "Brother Soule, you've played me a Yankee trick." He was right; for so entirely vain was Soule's apparent concession, that nobody ever came to the General Conference in consequence of it.

It is important to note the situation in which Cooper, Lee, and their following found themselves at this moment. We are told that they never would have consented to the report of

the Committee of Fourteen, had that report been understood to sanction the removal of the appointing power from the sole control of the General Conference. We have shown that they never did consent to this point of the report; but that an overwhelming majority in its favor made their attitude toward it of no account. We are told, also, that Jesse Lee's argument against the report was, not that it affected his favorite measure of an elective Presiding Eldership, but that seniority should be the test of membership in the General Conference. This remark implies two absurdities: first, that Jesse Lee said nothing through the long debate on Ezekiel Cooper's resolution in favor of an elective Presiding Eldership; and, secondly, that he would be likely to make further opposition on that ground after a majority of twenty-one had declared against it. He, therefore, made his attack on the point of seniority, merely because that was the only plausible ground left for opposition. Soule's amendment instantly destroyed that ground, and left Cooper and Lee to decide what course to adopt. There was no hope that the majority of twenty-one against an elective Presiding Eldership could be overcome, and the point of seniority had been wisely yielded, so that further opposition would have seemed factious. They dared not in prudence carry their opposition further, for that would have been the ruin of their own influence. Wisely for themselves and the Church they forbore further opposition. Jesse Lee moved the passage of the third restrictive rule, and it was carried. From this act of Jesse Lee's it has been supposed he was the author of that rule, and, therefore, it could not have been in opposition to the election of Presiding Elders. But we have Bishop Soule's word for it, that he himself drew the third restrictive rule, and that the supposition that Jesse Lee framed it, rested wholly upon the fact that Mr. Lee at last moved its adoption. Our good friends are quite aware of this fact, and in other places they make Joshua Soule the author of the rule. Thus we see Mr. Cooper and Jesse Lee at last reduced to choose between accepting the report of the Committee of Fourteen, or carrying their opposition to such a pitch as would have exposed them to the charge of obstinacy, and of such factious behavior as would have ruined their influence in the Conference without stopping the passage of the report. They gave way, and the Conference,

with great unanimity, adopted the report. It has been said that had this been their real conduct on this occasion, they would never in subsequent sessions have given their countenance to measures in favor of making the Presiding Eldership elective by the sole action of the General Conference. We answer, that men are pretty apt to find ways of doing what they wish to do. Perhaps it occurred to them, as it has to our good friends, that whatever may have been the intentions of the Committee of Fourteen, the General Conference was the proper expounder of its own action. Hence, while it would seem to them important to secure an interpretation in their own favor, they could act the more freely because they would not have the interpretations of half a century to look them out of countenance, as our good friends have to-day.

Further, while we can see a reasonable solution of the conduct of Cooper and Lee upon our view of the action of 1808, our good friends can give no reasonable account of the conduct of Bishops M'Kendree and Soule and their friends, upon their own theory. Why did Soule object to the constitutionality of the action of the General Conference of 1820 in making the Presiding Elders elective? His brethren had just elected him Bishop, and his friends were anxious to put such a man as himself into the Episcopacy as a protection against radicalism; the Bishops were ready to ordain him. Why does Joshua Soule take the decision to protest against the unconstitutionality of an elective Presiding Eldership at the very moment when his protest may arrest his ordination, or lead to the resignation of his new honors? Do men who desire a good work commonly throw away such a position, when it has honorably come to them? Do they act thus upon whim, upon uncertainty? Why does Bishop Soule wait four years longer before accepting consecration after a fresh election? Why does M'Kendree pursue his remarkable course on this question, unless he knew beyond a shadow of doubt, that the legislation he denounced as unconstitutional really was so? Such conduct upon the part of these men cannot be explained upon the theory of our good friends, without extreme violence to all the reasonable probabilities of the case. Such are our main reasons for asserting that the third restrictive rule renders it impossible for the General Conference alone to make the Presiding Eldership elective.

with great unanimity, adopted the report. It has been said that had this been their real conduct on this occasion, they would never in subsequent sessions have given their countenance to measures in favor of making the Presiding Eldership elective by the sole action of the General Conference. We answer, first, men are pretty apt to find ways of doing what they wish to do. Perhaps it occurred to them, as it has to our good friends, that whatever may have been the intentions of the Committee of Conferees, the General Conference was the proper expounder of its own action. Hence, while it would seem to them important to secure an interpretation in their own favor, they would act the more freely because they would not have the interpretations of half a century to look them out of countenance, as our good friends have to-day.

Further, while we can see a reasonable solution of the conduct of Cooper and Lee upon our view of the action of 1808, our good friends can give no reasonable account of the conduct of Bishops M'Kendree and Soule and their friends, upon their own theory. Why did Soule object to the constitutionality of the action of the General Conference of 1820 in making the Presiding Elders elective? His brethren had just elected him Bishop, and his friends were anxious to put such a man as himself into the Episcopacy as a protection against radicalism; the Bishops were ready to ordain him. Why does Joshua Soule take the decision to protest against the unconstitutionality of an elective Presiding Eldership at the very moment when his protest may arrest his ordination, or lead to the resignation of his new honors? Do men who desire a good work commonly throw away such a position, when it has honorably come to them? Do they act thus upon whim, upon uncertainty? Why does Bishop Soule wait four years longer before accepting consecration after a fresh election? Why does M'Kendree pursue his remarkable course on this question, unless he knew beyond a shadow of doubt, that the legislation he denounced as unconstitutional really was so? Such conduct upon the part of these men cannot be explained upon the theory of our good friends, without extreme violence to all the reasonable probabilities of the case. Such are our main reasons for asserting that the third restrictive rule renders it impossible for the General Conference alone to make the Presiding Eldership elective.

ART. VI.—METHODISM AND HERESY.

A CERTAIN ambiguity of Methodist law comes into view the moment we raise the question suggested by these words, and instantly not two, but several, distinct opinions come to the front, each having many followers and much argumentation on its side. The question is just now a practical one, as there are two or three Methodist preachers under suspension for heresy, and it is quite probable at the next General Conference there will be a great legal battle over an appeal taken by one or more of these.

The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church secures for its ministers and members the right of trial and appeal. The book of Discipline has a section containing the rules under which such trials must proceed. For the trial of ministers there are statutes concerning immorality, heresy, inefficiency, etc. The statute concerning heresy (¶ 207) was framed essentially as we have it now in the very earliest year of the Church. The statute prescribes the Articles of Religion as the appeal and test of orthodoxy in cases of trial for heresy. And there is no authority in any of these rules for trial, or elsewhere in the Discipline, for apprehending and trying a preacher on charges of erroneous doctrine except under the Articles of Religion. The law of the Methodist Episcopal Church knows no heresy outside of the Articles of Religion. This is the thesis which is sustained in this paper.

Before attempting a discussion of the several theories of the law of our Church, it will be well to recall a few fundamental truths that bear upon the general subject. The history of human society teaches that a supreme power of government should always be exercised under well-defined principles and laws. It is an axiom in constitutional government that no man can be trusted with undefined power. Hence arise the checks and limitations of authority which are found in constitutions. Hence, also, arises the division of governmental functions into the legislative, the executive, and the judicial—where each has a limited supremacy, and acts as a check upon the others.

These principles are not less applicable, nor is their application less needed, in ecclesiastical than in civil government.

All history is illustrative of man's love of power. And while the tyranny of civil rulers has proved the necessity for constitutional checks, it is a well-known fact that the most iniquitous and mischievous abuses of power that the world has known are to be found in ecclesiastical history. And the Church of Rome is not the only illustration of this truth which Christendom furnishes.

For these reasons the great Protestant Churches of to-day are organized under well-defined constitutional laws, whereby the rights of members are carefully guarded, and the prerogatives and duties of rulers are clearly defined. It is quite certain that no Church of our time will feel itself justified in its appeal for the patronage and confidence of the general public whose form of government ignores these principles. Tested by these principles, the Methodist Episcopal Church will not be found wanting. Her government is not above law, but under law. By her constitutional law the fundamental interests of her people are guarded against abuse of power, and her statute laws prescribe not only their duties, but also their rights.

That there are anomalies and imperfections in the system is freely admitted by her best friends, more, perhaps, than is altogether creditable to us in this last quarter of the eighteenth century; but these are passing away under the *vis medicatrix* of her own intellectual and religious life.

In every form of Church organization there are four matters of fundamental import, all of which ought to have the protection of constitutional law. These are (1) the polity, (2) the theology of its teachers, (3) the conditions of membership, and (4) the right of trial and appeal for ministers and members. When these four interests are carefully guarded by organic law it will be admitted that a Church possesses free and constitutional government. The Restrictive Rules are the constitutional law of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These rules are above the action of the General Conference, and can only be altered by the concurrent vote of three fourths of all the members of the Annual Conferences, and two thirds of the General Conference. All of the aforementioned fundamental interests of a Church are protected by these Restrictive Rules.

Rule I guards the theology of the teachers of the Church. Rule III guards its polity. Rule IV guards the conditions of

membership. Rule V guards the right of trial and appeal for ministers and members. It is obvious that any legislation or method of administration which tends to nullify these constitutional guards is destructive of the system, and unconstitutional.

Let us classify the opinions that are entertained in the Church on this subject. To help clearness of thought let us first classify all opinions under two heads:—

I. The strict constructionists of the law, who hold that the articles of religion are the only standard of doctrine by which a minister's orthodoxy may be judged.

II. The liberal constructionists, who, by a more liberal interpretation of the law, conclude that other doctrines besides those defined in the Twenty-five Articles are included in the authoritative confession of the Church.

The liberal constructionists may be subdivided as follows:—

1. Those who claim that the Bible is the standard, in addition to the Articles.

2. Those who claim that the so-called "standard authors," especially Wesley's Sermons and Notes, are the ultimate appeal.

3. Those who hold that the *consensus* of doctrinal opinions held generally by the Church, and interpreted by the court of triers, is the doctrinal standard and ultimate appeal. Let us examine each of these views separately.

1. The argument for the Bible as the standard is that Art. V, on "The Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation," indorses the Scriptures as the touch-stone of orthodoxy, and, therefore, that every thing in the Bible may be imposed on the belief of an accused party by a Church court.

But this is a stretch of interpretation which the judicial mind will not readily accept. Art. V is negative in its character, and is a statute of limitation. It confers no power, but is simply and strictly a limitation of power:—

> V. *The Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.* The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

In the Church of England, across the sea, it may be presumed that the meaning of the Article is understood. Many important trials for heresy have been held there in recent years, and, so far as I can learn, this claim has never been made. It is certain it has never been allowed. The intent of the Article was not to define the authority of the Scriptures, though it does this in a *quasi* manner, but to condemn the Romish claim for the authority of tradition.

2. The argument for the standard authors as the appeal may be given as follows:—

(1.) Art. V refers us to the Scriptures. As Methodists we have gone to the Scriptures, and we find their teachings defined in our standard authors. The reply to this is the same as that given above; namely, that Art. V does not open up all the Scriptures as the Creed of the Church, but simply defines the relation of the Scriptures to any creed which the Church may adopt.

(2.) A second argument is attempted from Restrictive Rule No. I, (Discipline, ¶ 70.) "The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine." Is not this, it is asked, an acknowledgment of existing and established standards of doctrine? Most certainly it is the acknowledgment of certain standards, but it does not impose those standards as a confession on the Church; otherwise we should be bound to believe all that said standards contain; for example, Wesley's views of the immortality of brutes, and baptismal regeneration.

Let us suppose that this rule authorizes the General Conference to add new articles of faith, provided they be not contrary to the standard authors; and let us raise the question whether the rule forbids the General Conference from condemning certain views set forth within those standards, as, for example, Wesley's immortality of brutes. It will be admitted—it must be admitted—that there is nothing in the rule which debars the General Conference from condemning Wesley's notion. But to admit this is, also, to admit that the rule does not lift these standard authors to the rank of a confession. The Constitution of the United States authorized the State of Ohio to make and execute laws, provided such laws were not contrary

In the Church of England, across the sea, it may be presumed that the meaning of the Article is understood. Many important trials for heresy have been held there in recent years, and, so far as I can learn, this claim has never been made. It is certain it has never been allowed. The intent of the Article was not to define the authority of the Scriptures, though it does this in a great manner, but to condemn the Romish claim for the authority of tradition.

2. The argument for the standard authors as the appeal may be given as follows:—

(1.) Art. V refers us to the Scriptures. As Methodists we have gone to the Scriptures, and we find their teachings defined in our standard authors. The reply to this is the same as that given above; namely, that Art. V does not open up all the Scriptures as the Creed of the Church, but simply defines the relation of the Scriptures to any creed which the Church may adopt.

(2.) A second argument is attempted from Restrictive Rule No. I, (Discipline, ¶ 70.) "The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine." Is not this, it is asked, an acknowledgment of existing and established standards of doctrine? Most certainly it is the acknowledgment of certain standards, but it does not impose those standards as a confession on the Church; otherwise we should be bound to believe all that said standards contain; for example, Wesley's views of the immortality of brutes, and baptismal regeneration.

Let us suppose that this rule authorizes the General Conference to add new articles of faith, provided they be not contrary to the standard authors; and let us raise the question whether the rule forbids the General Conference from condemning certain views set forth within those standards, as, for example, Wesley's immortality of brutes. It will be admitted—it must be admitted—that there is nothing in the rule which debars the General Conference from condemning Wesley's notion. But to admit this is, also, to admit that the rule does not lift those standard authors to the rank of a confession. The Constitution of the United States authorized the State of Ohio to make and execute laws, provided such laws were not contrary to Federal laws. That was an acknowledgment of existing and established Federal laws, but it did not authorize the State of Ohio to execute said Federal laws. The Methodist Episcopal Church authorized (let us suppose) the General Conference to make and impose doctrines, provided such doctrines be not contrary to certain existing standards, but in doing so it did not elevate the standards to the rank of a creed, or authorize the General Conference to enforce the belief of them in the Church.

But, as a matter of fact, it has been accepted as Church law that this rule does not authorize the General Conference to make new doctrines, whether taken from the existing standards, or elsewhere.

The last General Conference, in sanctioning the Report of the Bishops on Dr. Brunson's proposition to add to the Articles of Religion, took the ground that it was not competent for the General Conference to make additional articles of faith. Now, if the General Conference is estopped by the constitution of the Church from framing out of our standard authors new articles, how can it be claimed that a committee of triers may go to those authors and make them a law for any special case? Does the constitution give to a court a law-making power which it withholds from the General Conference.

Let me quote from the very able report of the Bishops on Dr. Brunson's paper, which was read to the Conference by Bishop Foster. It bears directly on the question before us:—

> The work of formulating theological truth into an authoritative declaration of faith is too delicate to be successfully achieved without the concurrence of many minds, after patient study and laborious research. We also find that the question of the right of the General Conference to act in the premises is involved. The first Restrictive Rule guards the Articles of Religion in the following words: "The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standard or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine." It is sometimes claimed that while this restriction protects the existing articles from change, it does not prohibit the General Conference from adopting additional articles, provided they are not contrary to the old ones. But this claim cannot be admitted, since it is perfectly obvious that a stated number of Articles of Religion containing definitive substance of doctrine, is different in contents from the same Articles with others added containing substance of doctrine not found in the original articles. . . .

And even if it could be fairly deduced from the language of the law, it is certain that those who ordained the delegated General Conference, and gave it all the power it possesses, did not intend to clothe it with authority to make additions to the articles of religion. . . . To us it is evident that nothing so fundamental as an authoritative declaration of faith should be taken into the organic law of the Church by any questionable process, or by the exercise of any doubtful authority. . . . We are impressed that it is dangerous to exercise any powers which can be claimed only by questionable inference. It is not well to put the language of the Constitution under severe tension; nor is it wise to act upon an interpretation that pushes the instrument to the verge of its possible meaning. The path of safety is in the conscientious adherence to the organic law, construed in the interest of its own safeguards, and in the avoidance of extreme and doubtful interpretations. When we once begin to act upon inferences a very wide door is opened, which will not close at our bidding.—*General Conference Journal*, 1876, p. 207.

This, then, is our question: If the General Conference is not competent to make new Articles of Faith, can a court of triers virtually make them by passing sentence under authority of the standard authors? Precedents become laws, unless set aside by special legislation. There is much in those authors we have never believed or professed to believe. Are we left by the Constitution of the Church at the mercy of a committee of triers, who shall interpret and enforce upon us said authors according to their personal judgment? Forms of trial should not be converted into processes of legislation. A fundamental principle of jurisprudence is stated in Sharswood's Blackstone (page 69) in the following words: "Judges must not assume the characters of legislators. It is their province *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*." And yet the strange doctrine has been put forth in this discussion, and will be put forth again, that although the General Conference cannot go to Wesley's Notes and Sermons, or to the "Doctrinal Tracts," and therefrom formulate Articles of Faith additional to the Articles of Religion, yet a committee of triers can try an accused under the Notes, Sermons, and "Doctrinal Tracts," and if they find his preaching contrary to any doctrines contained therein, the committee can legally expel him from the Church. That is to say, the committee can perform, by a back-door process, legislative functions which the Constitution of the Church denies even to the General Conference. We will return to this again.

> And even if it could be fairly deduced from the language of the law, it is certain that those who ordained the delegated General Conference, and gave it all the power it possesses, did not intend to clothe it with authority to make additions to the articles of religion. . . . To us it is evident that nothing so fundamental as an authoritative declaration of faith should be taken into the organic law of the Church by any questionable process, or by the exercise of any doubtful authority. . . . We are impressed that it is dangerous to exercise any powers which can be claimed only by presumable inference. It is not well to put the language of the Constitution under severe tension; nor is it wise to set upon an interpretation that pushes the instrument to the verge of its possible meaning. The path of safety is in the conscientious adherence to the organic law, construed in the interest of its own safeguards, and in the avoidance of extreme and doubtful interpretations. When we once begin to act upon inferences a very wide door is opened, which will not close at our bidding.—*General Conference Journal*, 1876, p. 297.

This, then, is our question: If the General Conference is not competent to make new Articles of Faith, can a court of triers virtually make them by passing sentence under authority of the standard authors? Precedents become laws, unless set aside by special legislation. There is much in those authors we have never believed or professed to believe. Are we left by the Constitution of the Church at the mercy of a committee of triers, who shall interpret and enforce upon us said authors according to their personal judgment? Forms of trial should not be converted into processes of legislation. A fundamental principle of jurisprudence is stated in Sharswood's Blackstone (sec 69) in the following words: "Judges must not assume the functions of legislators. It is their province *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*." And yet the strange doctrine has been put forth in this discussion, and will be put forth again, that although the General Conference cannot go to Wesley's Notes and Sermons, or to the "Doctrinal Tracts," and therefrom formulate Articles of Faith additional to the Articles of Religion, yet a committee of triers can try an accused under the Notes, Sermons, and "Doctrinal Tracts," and if they find his preaching contrary to any doctrines contained therein, the committee can legally expel him from the Church. That is to say, the committee can perform, by a back-door process, legislative functions which the Constitution of the Church denies even to the General Conference. We will return to this again.

(3.) A third argument for the authority of the standard authors is attempted from the early practice of the Church. It is said that at the beginning Wesley's Sermons and Notes were the test of orthodoxy. To which we answer, that it is true that prior to the organization of the Church, in 1784, "the Notes, Sermons, and Minutes of Mr. Wesley" were, by special enactment, (Annual Minutes of 1781 and April, 1784,) declared the standard of doctrine; but it is equally true that at the Christmas Conference, in 1784, when the Church assumed an organic form, the Articles of Religion were adopted, at the request of Mr. Wesley, as the authoritative doctrinal standard of the Church, and ever since they have had a conspicuous and sacred place in the book of Discipline; and it is also true that from the time of their adoption there has been no mention of Mr. Wesley's Notes and Sermons.

(4.) A fourth argument for the authority of the standard authors is attempted from the necessity of the case. "The Articles, it is said, are not sufficient for the Church's needs; they do not cover the ground. There is an absolute necessity that certain other doctrines be included in the creed of the Church." Now, it is true that necessity knows no law, but it is equally true that law knows no necessity. When the Vandal, necessity, dons the ermine and takes the seat of the judge, the genius of law slips out from the hall of justice. Is the Methodist Episcopal Church above law, or under law? Is it a constitutionally organized body, in which the rights and privileges of its members are sacredly guarded? Let us remember the lesson taught by the ages, that apart from law there is safety neither for the individual, nor for the State, nor for the Church.

Before proceeding further, let us remind the reader that the question before us is not what ought to be the authoritative creed of the Church, but what is it? It is simply and purely a legal question; and as such, apart from all personal judgments as to the wisdom of the law, we are bound to deal with it. There are two principles which, by general consent, determine the interpretation of oaths and professions of faith, namely, the plain historical meaning of the words, and the *animus imponentis*, or the intention of the party requiring the profession. The application of these principles to our case requires us to review certain parts of the history of the organization of our Church, and, also, of the adoption of the Restrictive Rules.

It will be conceded on all hands that the Christmas Conference of 1784, which organized the Church, was in perfect harmony with the wishes of Wesley in all that they did. It will be conceded that the Articles of Religion were prepared by Wesley for the new Church, and that they were adopted by the Conference of 1784 as an authoritative statement of their doctrines. It will be conceded that a statute was enacted by the same Conference, (Bangs' History, vol. i, p. 211,) or very soon after, for the trial of heresy, and that the offense of heresy was described in said statute as "a breach of the Articles of the Church." It will also be conceded that no other statute on this subject was enacted by the Christmas Conference, or subsequently by any Conference during the whole history of the Church.

This, then, is our historical inquiry, Did Wesley and the Conference intend the Articles of Religion to be the only authoritative creed of the Church under which a minister should be tried? Certainly the *prima facie* is that they did so intend. Let us look with some care at these Articles, which Wesley prepared, and which the Church adopted, and still preserves, as her rule of faith. It has become the fashion in certain quarters to disparage our Articles of Religion. Their supposed deficiencies are pointed out, and their anti-Romish character is dwelt upon, until many have lost all respect for them as an expression of Christian doctrine. Despite these disparagements, we affirm our conviction that they are the best statement of Christian doctrine, for the purposes of a Church creed, that has ever been formulated.

The topics which they treat embrace the whole range of essential doctrine. They are especially full and satisfactory on the doctrines of grace. And the language in which they are couched is grave and judicious. The omissions and limitations of the Articles indicate their wisdom hardly less than their contents. Scylla and Charybdis are alike avoided, and the wide, open channel of God's abounding grace is clearly pointed out. It was said, in the Report of the Bishops to the last General Conference, that "the work of formulating theological truth into an authoritative declaration of faith is too delicate to be successfully achieved without the concurrence of many minds after patient study and laborious research."

It will be conceded on all hands that the Christmas Conference of 1784, which organized the Church, was in perfect harmony with the wishes of Wesley in all that they did. It will be conceded that the Articles of Religion were prepared by Wesley for the new Church, and that they were adopted by the Conference of 1784 as an authoritative statement of their doctrines. It will be conceded that a statute was enacted by the same Conference, (Bangs' History, vol. i, p. 211,) or very soon after, for the trial of heresy, and that the offense of heresy was described in said statute as "a breach of the Articles of the Church." It will also be conceded that no other statute on this subject was enacted by the Christmas Conference, or subsequently by any Conference during the whole history of the Church.

This, then, is our historical inquiry, Did Wesley and the Conference intend the Articles of Religion to be the only authoritative creed of the Church under which a minister should be tried? Certainly the *prima facie* is that they did so intend. Let us look with some care at these Articles, which Wesley prepared, and which the Church adopted, and still preserves, as her rule of faith. It has become the fashion in certain quarters to disparage our Articles of Religion. Their supposed deficiencies are pointed out, and their anti-Romish character is dwelt upon, until many have lost all respect for them as an expression of Christian doctrine. Despite these disparagements, we affirm our conviction that they are the best statement of Christian doctrine, for the purposes of a Church creed, that has ever been formulated.

The topics which they treat embrace the whole range of essential doctrine. They are especially full and satisfactory on the doctrines of grace. And the language in which they are couched is grave and judicious. The omissions and limitations of the Articles indicate their wisdom hardly less than their assertions. Scylla and Charybdis are alike avoided, and the broad open channel of God's abounding grace is clearly pointed out. It was said, in the Report of the Bishops to the last General Conference, that "the work of formulating theological truth into an authoritative declaration of faith is too delicate to be successfully achieved without the coöperation of many minds after patient study and laborious research."

Judged by the test of this sentiment of our Bishops, no creed of Christendom equals ours. It is not of mushroom growth. Most of the other Reformed confessions sprang from a single mind, or from a single epoch. Ours is the work of centuries. In its form of Thirty-nine Articles it was, like our English Bible, the work of the great sixteenth century—that grandest century which England ever knew. The piety and learning of the old Protestant martyrs are in it. And beyond the English theologians we can trace the German Reformers; for at least six of our articles are from the hands of Luther, and Melanchthon, and their friends.

After a history of two hundred years the original Thirty-nine Articles were committed by Providence, for revision, to the hands of a man whose genius for Church government and Gospel truth has never been surpassed. The reproach and contumely which Wesley accepted in establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the exceeding solicitude and carefulness with which every step of the great work was taken, are matters of history. The founder of our Church never reached so high an altitude as when, in establishing Episcopal Methodism in America, he shook from him the traditions of ages, and stood forth free in God's eternal truth, as when an eagle shakes from his wings the fogs and mists of the low valleys. With prophetic vision he saw a new world rising in grandeur beyond the ocean, and freed, as he declared, by God's providence, from the civil and ecclesiastical traditions of antiquity.

From Wesley the Methodist Episcopal Church received her polity, her doctrines, and her conditions of membership—those three essentials of a Church. Her doctrines are contained in his revision of the Thirty-nine Articles of his own English Church; and a comparison of the revised articles with the originals, as set forth in Stevens' History, (ii, 205,) reveals the care and wisdom with which he accomplished the task. It may be well to recall, briefly, the doctrines set forth in the Twenty-five Articles, in order to correct unjust impressions of them. An analysis shows that they prescribe the following doctrines:—

I. *Bible.*—The authority of the Scriptures is defined, and the canonical books are named.

II. *Theology.*—The doctrines of the Godhead in trinity, of

the deity of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, are clearly and elaborately defined.

III. *Christology.*—The nature of Christ is set forth; also his crucifixion, death, resurrection, and ascension. It is also declared that he is "the only Mediator between God and man," and the future Judge of all mankind.

IV. *The doctrines of grace.*—Man's depravity and helplessness are affirmed. Man's dependence upon grace for his recovery. Atonement by "the oblation of Christ for the sins of the whole world." Justification by faith only. The relation of works to faith defined, and antinomianism condemned.

V. *Ecclesiology.*—The Church defined; also a sacrament, and the only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, defined.

VI. *Eschatology.*—The general judgment at the end of the world is declared. This judgment shall be by Jesus Christ on his return from heaven "to judge all men at the last day." The doctrine of purgatory, with all that is involved therein, is condemned. Masses, or prayers for the dead, are condemned.

Thus it will be seen that this compendious creed contains all the essential doctrines of Christian dogmatics. It sets forth the great facts of revelation, and declares in strong, clear language the foundation truths of the Gospel. Theories in each department of doctrine, which have been the bane of the long Confessions, are wisely avoided. It would seem that we have here a creed not for an epoch or a century only, but for all time. That Wesley intended these Twenty-five Articles to occupy the same place in the Methodist Episcopal Church which the Thirty-nine Articles held in his own Church, cannot be denied. In his certificate of ordination of Dr. Coke he gives, as his reason for organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church, the fact that "the Methodists in America desire to still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England."—*Tyerman's Life*, iii, 434.

The organizing Conference not only accepted the form of government and ordination from Wesley, but also the Twenty-five Articles were formally adopted as the Creed of the Church, and, if Bangs' History is correct, a form of trial was provided at once for a breach of the Articles of the Church. The statute

now in the Discipline concerning heresy is essentially the same as when first adopted, and has never been changed. The Conference also declared that "during the life of Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, and ready in matters of Church government to obey his commands."

The testimony of Dr. Abel Stevens is explicit to the effect that Wesley intended the Articles of Religion to be the only obligatory creed of the new Church. He writes:—

> Wesley evidently designed the Articles to be the briefest and barest possible symbol of expedient doctrines; and, as we shall hereafter see, not even a requisite condition of Church membership, though a requisite functional qualification for the ministry. He consigned his other tenets, however precious to him, to other means of conservation and diffusion, for it was not his opinion that the orthodoxy of a Church can best guarantee its spiritual life, but that its spiritual life can best guarantee its orthodoxy.—Vol. ii, page 209.

It will not be pretended that at the organization of the Church the "Doctrinal Tracts" had any standing as an authoritative creed, for the first mention of them in the Discipline is several years later. The "Doctrinal Tracts" were four in number, and were on the following subjects: Predestination, Perseverance of the Saints, Christian Perfection, and Baptism. (Emory on the Discipline, p. 84.)

It is important in this discussion to observe carefully what pledges are made by a preacher in coming into the Methodist Episcopal Church. And a distinction must be made between conditions proposed by an Annual Conference for its own "satisfaction," and conditions proposed by the Church in its book of Discipline. These last alone form the basis on which he can be expelled from the Church.

Nowhere in the curriculum for admission, or orders, is a candidate in our Church asked if he believes in the doctrines taught in the standard authors. Such assent is neither asked nor given. Nowhere in the Discipline is there any record of such authors, as to who they are or what they teach. And when the question is asked, What are the "standards" referred to in the phrase, "our present existing and established standards of doctrine," the answers are vague and conflicting. One answers, The original four volumes of Mr. Wesley's Sermons,

and Notes on the New Testament; and the reason given is, that these were prescribed by the Conferences of 1781 and April, 1784. Another answers, "The Doctrinal Tracts;" and the reason for this is, that these tracts were bound up with the Discipline from 1789–1812, (excepting 1796, when they were omitted.) A third insists that Fletcher's "Checks" must be included, because these had canonical esteem by the fathers, and were commended to the preachers in certain early minutes. Bishop Baker, in his work on the Discipline, in order that nothing shall be missing, says that "usage and general consent" puts Watson's Institutes among the "established standards" of the Church.

Now, it is admitted that prior to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1784, "the Notes and Sermons" are specified as the rule of doctrine, but they are never thus mentioned, or, indeed, mentioned at all, subsequent to the Christmas Conference of 1784. And there is not a particle of evidence that any Conference ever acknowledged the "Doctrinal Tracts" as occupying the same standing as the Articles of Religion. They were, indeed, printed in certain editions of the Discipline prior to 1812, but so, also, were "the Psalms and Hymns" and "the Church Service," while many books were enjoined by name to be carefully studied by the preachers. Shall we try Methodist preachers for heresy out of "the Psalms and Hymns," or by the teachings of "à Kempis," or "Primitive Physic?"

The very vagueness of these standards is the condemnation of the view that such voluminous writings have the authority of a creed. Who are these standard authors? Where shall we find this *index expurgatorius?* It is not in the Discipline of to-day. It has never been in the Discipline, nor has it ever been announced by any General Conference since the Church was organized. But, on the contrary, there has been a specific statute for heresy from the first, unchallenged and unchanged, and in that statute the Articles of Religion are prescribed as the standard of authoritative doctrine. There is allusion, indeed, to "erroneous and strange doctrines" in the ordination of elders, but according to the Discipline the Articles of Religion are the touch-stone of such erroneous doctrines. The Discipline, like the Bible, must be permitted to explain itself.

The questions put by the Bishop to the candidate at the bar of the Conference touching this matter, are: "Have you read the Form of Discipline?" "Are you willing to conform to it?" It is nowhere asked of a candidate whether he believes the teachings of certain standard authors, or whether he agrees with the *consensus* of Methodist doctrine, or whether he will conform to the traditions of the so-called "unwritten law" of Methodism, or whether he will consent to take his theology from whatever committee of triers may happen to be appointed on his case. He pledges himself, simply and solely, to conform to the Form of Discipline. It is nowhere asked of him whether he agrees with the sixty volumes prescribed for study and reading in the Conference Course, nor was it the design of the General Conference that such questions should be asked by either Committee or Annual Conference. The Conference examinations are not inquisitorial as to belief, but as to knowledge, and while the Annual Conference has the power and the right to reject a candidate for admission on its sovereign judgment, ("if he give us satisfaction," the law says,) yet it has not disciplinary warrant for demanding agreement with the authors prescribed in the course of study. For the law under which these examinations are held, see "Discipline," ¶ 145.

In 1808 the Restrictive Rules were adopted and the delegated General Conference was authorized. Prior to that date the General Conference, being composed constructively of all the traveling preachers, had absolute power over all doctrines and usages of the Church. The fear of hasty legislation, and the desire "that the doctrine, form of government, and general rules of the united societies in America be preserved sacred and inviolable," (Preamble of Report of the Committee on Constitution—Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," ii, p. 229.) were the motives which led to the present constitution of the Church. The inspiration of the establishment of the delegated Conference, with its limitations and powers, was to preserve in *statu quo* the creed and polity of the Church as received from Mr. Wesley. The General Conference of 1808 did not intend to lift the standard authors to the rank of a creed, nor did it occur to them that the words which they employed in Rule I would ever be tortured to such a meaning. If further proof of this were needed we have it in the fact that

they did not enact a statute for heresy in harmony with this construction of Rule I, but were content with the old statute which restricted heresy trials to the Articles of Religion.

The view here presented is also that of Dr. Nathan Bangs, in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," and, as Dr. Bangs was a member of the Conference of 1808, he is a competent witness. (Bangs' History, vol. ii, p. 233.) The teaching of Dr. Stevens in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church" is also in harmony with the thesis supported in this paper, to wit, that the law of the Methodist Episcopal Church knows no heresy outside of the Articles of Religion. For Stevens' views on this subject, see chap. v, vol. ii, of the "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

But it will be said that the practice of the Church has been to go outside the Articles of Religion in her trials for heresy. We reply, that if the practice is contrary to the law, the sooner it is stopped the better. The advice is as good for a Conference as for a preacher, "Let us keep our rules, and not mend them." No practice can have authority which is in violation of law, no matter how long it may have continued. It is an acknowledged principle of jurisprudence that court decisions shall be set aside when it is made plain that they are out of harmony with the statute. To set aside such decisions is the very office of a court of appeals. Chancellor Kent on this has the following, ("Commentaries," vol. i, p. 539:) "A solemn decision upon a point of law arising in any given case becomes an authority in a like case, . . . unless it can be shown that the law was misunderstood or misapplied in that particular case." And it is well-known that the Supreme Court of the United States reversed a decision of its own on the currency question, during the War of the Rebellion. Hence if our Conferences have been acting without law, or contrary to law, in their methods of heresy trials, the sooner such lawlessness is exposed and ended the better. But though the Annual Conferences may have been at fault in this matter, a careful search among the Journals of the General Conference has led the writer to the conclusion that the General Conference has always confined its action to the law of the Discipline, and only entertained an action for heresy which was brought under the Articles of Religion.

they did not enact a statute for heresy in harmony with this construction of Rule I, but were content with the old statute which restricted heresy trials to the Articles of Religion.

The view here presented is also that of Dr. Nathan Bangs, in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," and, as Dr. Bangs was a member of the Conference of 1808, he is a competent witness. (Bangs' History, vol. ii, p. 223.) The teaching of Dr. Stevens in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church" is also in harmony with the thesis supported in this paper, to wit, that the law of the Methodist Episcopal Church knows no heresy outside of the Articles of Religion. For Stevens' views on this subject, see chap. v, vol. ii, of the "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

But it will be said that the practice of the Church has been to go outside the Articles of Religion in her trials for heresy. We reply, that if the practice is contrary to the law, the sooner it is stopped the better. The advice is as good for a Conference as for a preacher, "Let us keep our rules, and not mend them." No practice can have authority which is in violation of law, no matter how long it may have continued. It is an acknowledged principle of jurisprudence that court decisions shall be set aside when it is made plain that they are out of harmony with the statute. To set aside such decisions is the very office of a court of appeals. Chancellor Kent on this has the following, ("Commentaries," vol. i, p. 580:) "A solemn decision upon a point of law arising in any given case becomes an authority in a like case, . . . unless it can be shown that the law was misunderstood or misapplied in that particular case." And it is well-known that the Supreme Court of the United States reversed a decision of its own on the currency question, during the War of the Rebellion. Hence if our Conferences have been acting without law, or contrary to law, in their methods of heresy trials, the sooner such lawlessness is exposed and ended the better. But though the Annual Conferences may have been at fault in this matter, a careful search among the Journals of the General Conference has led the writer to the conclusion that the General Conference has always conformed its action to the law of the Discipline, and only entertained an action for heresy which was brought under the Articles of Religion.

The Journals of the General Conference contain accounts of three appeals on questions of heresy, namely, that of Joshua Randall, New England Conference, in 1828; L. D. Simonds, California Conference, in 1868; and T. B. Taylor, Kansas Conference, in 1872; and the offense in each case is disseminating views which are contrary to the "Articles of Religion." Our examination of these Journals has led us to the conclusion that the General Conference has never given its sanction to trial for heresy under other test of orthodoxy than the Articles of Religion.

This leads us to the last theory of the liberal constructionists; namely, that the *consensus fidei*, as interpreted by the court, is the law under which heresy trials must proceed, and by which suspected opinions shall be judged. This theory has recently been advocated in the editorial department of the "National Repository." ("National Repository," December, 1878.) Before passing to the examination of the argument, let us first note the opinion of the writer as to the significance of Art. V. "The attempt has been made," he says, "to make the Article on 'the sufficiency of the Scriptures' cover every thing which may be proved out of the Scriptures; but that is quite too great a stretch of interpretation." The argument of the "Repository" may be summarized as follows: The Protestant Churches do not hold themselves strictly to their confessions, but, nevertheless, they agree in the main on a *consensus* of faith. Written creeds are ambiguous, and "any written document is capable of some latitude of interpretation." It is not the written creed, but the *consensus*, to which appeal is actually made in any case of trial, though the authority of the confession be acknowledged. "Administrators of discipline may be presumed to know what is, and what is not, the accepted doctrine of their Churches, and as in all cases of trial the triers are the judges of both the law and the facts, it is for them to decide any given case by a proper reference to the accepted faith of the body." In the Methodist Episcopal Church the Articles do not meet the needs of the Church, and "any doctrine clearly within the *consensus* of the Church is protected by the common law of the Church, without special legal enactment." "Whether or not this rule is a good one," the writer adds at the close of the article, "will be tested by

the higher tribunal to which certain recent cases have been appealed."

That there is force in certain of these considerations, though obvious fallacies in others, we are bound to confess. But there are grave objections to them. It will be found, indeed, after careful thought, that they are not only fallacious, but that they are subversive of those great principles of jurisprudence which are alike the defense of liberty and the condition of progress. There is a heritage of legal principles which has come to us chiefly from Rome, which is not less valuable than the heritage of literature and art which has come from Greece, and is only second in value to the heritage of revelation which was the gift of Israel to the human family. Let us recall a few principles in law that may be said to have the character of axioms.

1. Triers must not sit as legislators. Their office is to interpret law, and not to make law. Government has its three distinct departments—the legislative, the judicial, and the executive. These must not be confounded.

2. *Ex post facto* laws are vicious, and in all free governments are unconstitutional. An *ex post facto* law is one which renders an act punishable in a manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed. Such laws are forbidden by the Constitution of the United States. If law may be applied to adjudge an act which was committed before the law was made, there is an end of justice and private rights.

3. The defense of liberty is in the keeping of law. If law be overridden, or be loosely administered, liberty is jeoparded, and beneath the glove is the iron hand of tyranny. "The discretion of the judge," said Gibbon, "is the first engine of tyranny."

4. It is better to obey an unwise law, and amend it as soon as possible, than to ride over it and thus destroy the safeguards of society. One of the wise sayings of General Grant, when President, was: "The best way to lead to the repeal of an unwise law is faithfully to execute it."

It is said in the "Repository" that creeds are ambiguous, and that "the only way to maintain a uniform standard of religious belief" is to put the *consensus* in the place of the written creed, and for its interpretation to trust to the wisdom

of the triers. It is not easy to comprehend how such a statement could have been made by its author. The written creed is ambiguous, therefore resort to that nebular insubstantiality, called the *consensus*. This may be called an ecclesiastical nebular hypothesis.

"The written creed is capable of latitude of interpretation," we are told, "and there is a strange power in the human mind of reading into a form of words what may be desired;" therefore go to the unwritten creed, as with its notes, we may suppose, of *semper*, *ubique et ab omnibus*, it floats, like ether in universal space, in the convictions of the Church. In the immortal words of the "One-hoss Shay:" "Logic is logic. That's all I say." But a more serious objection to this scheme is that it transforms triers into law-makers. Take an illustration. A brother is charged with disseminating pre-millenarianism. He has caught the spirit of the prophetic conference. The triers have two tasks before them: to decide whether *consensus* condemns premillenarianism, and whether the charge is sustained. But *consensus* never uttered her voice before on this matter. They consult the authorities, living and dead, and decide that premillenarianism is a heresy, and expel the accused from the Church. What have they done? Adjudicated under law? Not at all. They have been a law unto themselves, and by the vicious process of *ex post facto* law they have driven a brother from the Church. Now, if that verdict be not reversed by the General Conference, (to which body there is no appeal from the Judicial Conferences save on a question of law,) you have a precedent which henceforth becomes law in the Church.

It is denied to an Annual Conference to make laws and establish doctrines; it is denied to the General Conference to add to the doctrines of the Church; but here is a back-door process by which the Church's fundamental laws are overslaughed, and a committee of triers may foist new doctrines and obligations on the Church.

Take another example. An eminent pastor in the West was recently brought before his Conference for certain opinions on inspiration. He declared to the Conference that he believed the Scriptures were written by inspired men, and were the only and sufficient rule of a Christian's faith and practice. To the Article on the Scriptures he subscribed with

all his heart. But he is probed for his *theory* of inspiration, and tells the Conference that he does not believe that inspiration carries with it absolute infallibility on all subjects. The Conference is not satisfied, but for the present is content to admonish and warn him. The next scene in the drama will be a trial for heresy. The triers will decide, perhaps, that an infallible plenary inspiration, which extends to the *ipsissima verba*, is the *consensus* of the Church, and the popular pastor will be deposed from his ministry. In such a case he might answer, "Surely it was not in the bond. Your theory of inspiration was never imposed by the Church in any form before." Here will be a new precedent and a new law, and, as was said before, the fundamental guards of the rights of the members of the Church are trampled on. Now, remember, that the trial of appeals is no longer conducted by one last court, to wit, the General Conference, as formerly, but by a board of triers, who have been elected by and are members of three Conferences convenient to the accused, and it is easy to see that diverse and conflicting decisions will be rendered on the same questions.

Take, for example, the case just referred to. Here in the latitude of New York that pastor would probably not be condemned as a heretic for his theory of inspiration; while in the latitude of Kentucky or Kansas his denial ot plenary inspiration might lead to his expulsion; but in the latitude of Georgia or Mississippi, where good orthodox black men make the *consensus*, any brother who denied that the very words of the Bible were chosen by the Holy Ghost would probably have no chance for an hour. And yet we are told by the "Repository" that the only way to maintain a uniform standard of belief is to put *consensus* in the place of the written creed. It will be remembered that there is no appeal from the decision of these far-separated Judicial Conferences, except on questions of law. And let it be observed that this reasoning is hardly less applicable to the theory of the authority of the standard authors, for these authors traverse the whole realm of theology, not only the essentials, but matters of speculation. It would be a nice thing, indeed, a very nice thing, if trouble-makers could always be squelched by a majority vote. It would preserve the homogeneity of the body. But even the trouble-maker has his

rights under the law; and if for no other reason, then for this reason, that if he have no rights, neither has his fellow.

It has been put forward that the common law of the Church makes the *consensus* the standard of orthodoxy. This cannot be admitted. There is much loose talk about common law, as though the term protected any proceedings, however irregular, provided such proceedings had been running on for some time without protest. Common law exists only by constitutional provision, as in England, and in certain courts in the United States. Common law has no authority in Germany or in India; and it would be as appropriate to apply the principles of the Roman law to our Church jurisprudence as those of the common law. A Church has no common law, but is a voluntary organization under the statutes of its book of Discipline. Besides, common is nearly, if not quite, as defined and positive as statute law, and the judges have no more discretion in the one case than in the other. In England the common law courts have been distinguished for a certain narrowness and technicality of reasoning. So even in courts of equity the judge has little discretion. There are established and recognized principles of equity which must rule in the courts. Otherwise, as was once said by an eminent judge, the measure of justice would be what happened to be the measure of the judge's foot. Ecclesiastical common law is a fiction.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is an incorporated body, recognized by the civil laws as governed by a body of statutes which are contained in its book of Discipline. Among other statutes for the trial of ministers there is one on the subject of heresy:—

> When a minister or preacher holds and disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to our Articles of Religion, let the same process be observed as in the case of gross immorality; but if the minister or preacher so offending do solemnly engage not to disseminate such erroneous doctrines, in public or in private, he shall be borne with till his case be laid before the next Annual Conference, which shall determine the matter.—*Discipline*, ¶ 207.

Such is the law. It is specific and plain, and in this form it has been in the Discipline from the infancy of the Church. According to this law the Articles of Religion are the test of orthodoxy. The General Conference of 1848 laid it down as a

principle of trial procedure that "an Annual Conference can investigate the case of a member only by the rules for trial."—*Sherman's History of the Discipline*, p. 49.

The argument that the law is not sufficient and does not meet the needs of the Church, and that, therefore, we must add to it by some fiction of common law, would not be heard for a moment in a civil court. It is quite common to find in the civil courts that an offense charged does not come within the law. Then the accused goes free. And Legislatures are always patching up the criminal laws to meet such cases. If this fancy of common law could have any standing in a Methodist court, the fact that there is a special statute for the trial of heresy would set it aside as to that; for it is an axiom that a statute always sets aside common law. If the Legislature has not pronounced, judges go back to precedents and customs; but when the Legislature has uttered a law, the judge is estopped from hunting up custom, and confines himself to explaining the will of the Legislature. Pomeroy on Municipal Law (p. 17) says: "Whenever the Legislature has spoken, in general its voice is supreme; it overrides the declarations of preceding Legislatures and the decisions of courts." And on page 20: "The badge of inferiority of common law is that the Legislature may step in and sweep it all away, and when its potent voice has once spoken the courts are powerless to resist; they can only expound the statute."

The Church of England has essentially the same law for heresy as the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been decided there again and again that the hard words of the symbols must be adhered to closely, and that *consensus* and the Bible, and even the Scriptures quoted in the Book of Prayer, must be ruled out. In 1862 Dr. Wilson, one of the authors of the notorious "Essays and Reviews," was tried for heresy on the charge of restorationism. The highest ecclesiastical court of England acquitted him because, under "the articles and formularies of the Church of England, restorationism was an open question." So, also, Dr. Rowland Williams was acquitted after a trial on a charge of teaching a heretical theory of inspiration, because the articles did not define inspiration.

The law which Wesley gave to American Methodism was that under which he had preached, and with which he was so principle of trial procedure that "an Annual Conference can investigate the case of a member only by the rules for trial."—*Sherman's History of the Discipline*, p. 62.

The argument that the law is not sufficient and does not meet the needs of the Church, and that, therefore, we must add to it by some fiction of common law, would not be heard for a moment in a civil court. It is quite common to find in the civil courts that an offense charged does not come within the law. Then the accused goes free. And Legislatures are always patching up the criminal laws to meet such cases. If this fancy of common law could have any standing in a Methodist court, the fact that there is a special statute for the trial of heresy would set it aside as to that; for it is an axiom that a statute always sets aside common law. If the Legislature has not pronounced, judges go back to precedents and customs; but when the Legislature has uttered a law, the judge is estopped from hunting up customs, and confines himself to expounding the will of the Legislature. Pomeroy on Municipal Law (p. 17) says: "Whenever the Legislature has spoken, in general its voice is supreme; it overrides the declarations of preceding Legislatures and the decisions of courts." And on page 20: "The badge of inferiority of common law is that the Legislature may step in and sweep it all away, and when its potent voice has once spoken the courts are powerless to resist; they can only expound the statute."

The Church of England has essentially the same law for heresy as the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been decided there again and again that the hard words of the symbols must be adhered to closely, and that consensus and the Bible, and even the Scriptures quoted in the Book of Prayer, must be ruled out. In 1863 Dr. Wilson, one of the authors of the celebrated "Essays and Reviews," was tried for heresy on the charge of restorationism. The highest ecclesiastical court of England acquitted him because, under "the articles and formularies of the Church of England, restorationism was an open question." So, also, Dr. Rowland Williams was acquitted after a trial on a charge of teaching a heretical theory of inspiration, because the articles did not define inspiration.

The law which Wesley gave to American Methodism was that under which he had preached, and with which he was so well satisfied in England. "Not a single doctrine," says Stevens in his History, "does Methodism hold to-day that was not sanctioned by the standards of the Anglican Establishment."

It is true that the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Anglican Church are not the same, yet if in this matter their law is essentially the same, and if they are good lawyers on the other side, it is plain that we have no right to go to *consensus*. So, also, in the Presbyterian Church no *consensus* would be allowed for a moment. The triers might read into or read out of the Confession as they pleased, but they must profess to read the Confession and to judge by the Confession. Fancy Prof. Robertson Smith, in his recent trial, submitting to be pronounced a heretic on the *dictum* of a Synod's interpretation of *consensus*-orthodoxy! As a matter of fact he held the Presbytery of Aberdeen, which tried him, strictly to the Confession; and Prof. Rainey and other eminent leaders held the General Assembly strictly to the Confession. And had he been deposed from his office under some elastic common law *consensus*, how quickly would he have appealed to the civil tribunal for the redress of injury illegally done him!

The *consensus* doctrine is in direct conflict with two fundamental principles of Methodist law, to wit, that the doctrines of the Church are fixed and cannot be revoked or amended, and that every minister has the right of trial. (Restrictive Rules, Nos. I, V.) The authority of *consensus* puts the doctrines in a state of flux. Nothing is "established;" every thing is fluent. Doctrines which were deemed most vital fifty years ago may fifty years hence be remanded to the moles and to the bats. And, then, what is the worth of trial if an accused cannot anticipate the law under which he shall be tried, but must hear it for the first time from his judges. In such a case an accused comes not to trial, but to judgment. *Ita scriptum est* is the decalogue of the jurist; a maxim not simply of statute law, but also of common law. There must, therefore, be written standards. The law must be in black and white, so that an accused may be able to know what it is.

Now, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, what are these written standards? They are, say some, the Notes and Sermons of Mr. Wesley, "the Doctrinal Tracts," and the liturgic

of the Discipline of 1808. Very well. Now, if those writings are the Confessions of Faith in the Church, we must hold (1) that they are authoritative in all and everything they teach, or (2) that they are to be interpreted by the Articles of Religion, and are only of authority in elaboration of the articles, (which is the view of the writer,) or (3) that they are to be interpreted and applied by the sovereign authority of the triers, which is a return to the *consensus* doctrine. Here is a trilemma. The third member of it has all the vices of *consensus*, for those writings traverse the whole realm of theology, not only the essentials, but also the non-essential. How is an accused to know what part of the sermons of Wesley the triers will enforce as obligatory? Is Wesley's post-millenarianism an essential doctrine? Is Wesley's view of inspiration an essential, or his view of the punishment of the wicked in the world to come? Just where we want something fixed, a *lex scripta*, we find every thing is unfixed and ambiguous. The first member of the trilemma is equally untenable, for the simple reason that no Methodist preacher of to-day believes, or ever did believe, all that is taught in those writings. Nor was there ever a time in the history of our Church when every thing contained in them was believed.

This is the proof that they never had the authority of a creed, but that they were directory and for instruction, rather than obligatory. Take, for example, the Treatise on Baptism, which was one of the Doctrinal Tracts printed in the early Discipline. In the most unequivocal language Mr. Wesley teaches in that tract the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. (Wesley's Works, vol. vi, p. 14.) Surely the American preachers never believed that vagary of Popery. We are thus shut up to the conclusion that the Articles of Religion are the only test of orthodoxy.

A further argument for the Articles of Religion as the only test of orthodoxy is found in the place which these Articles have held in the history of the Church. What does it mean that they are so jealously guarded by the first Restrictive Rule, and have a *sanctum* in the organic law of the Church? What does it mean that neither the General Conference, nor the constitutional two thirds and three fourths vote of the entire Church, can revoke, alter, or amend them? What does it mean that both the Bishops and the last General Conference declared

that the supreme Conference itself was not competent to add to them? And yet, forsooth, a Committee of Triers is competent to add to them, and to formulate creeds *ad infinitum*, according to their understanding of so-called standard authors or of the nebular hypothesis called *consensus*.

No legislative powers are half so dangerous to liberty as such latitude given to a court. The principles involved in this discussion were thoroughly canvassed in the famous debates on the Constitutional Law of the Church in the General Conference of 1868. The questions before the Conference were the admission of Delegates from Mission Conferences and Lay Delegation. There was a majority in the Conference for both measures, but the organic law of the Church seemed to be in the way. Dr. M'Clintock was on the popular side, and with his splendid eloquence made a terrible use of this very weapon of common law and unwritten constitution. He was answered in a speech in all respects worthy of the debate and of the cause, by the present editor of the "Repository," and the substance of the answer was that unwritten constitution has no standing in the presence of specific statute.

Too much deference cannot be felt toward that august Power "whose home is the bosom of God, and whose voice is the harmony of the world." All progress moves toward written constitutions and statute laws as the defense against arbitrary power. Let us recall the remark of Gibbon, that "the discretion of the judge is the first engine of tyranny." The defense of liberty is the well-defined law.

The principles in this discussion are constantly in debate in Church government. In a letter to Rev. F. D. Maurice, on the subscription to the Articles of the Church of England, Rev. Charles Kingsley wrote as follows:—

> As long as the Articles stand, and as long as they are interpreted by lawyers only, who will ask sternly, "Is it in the bond?" and nothing else, I see hope for freedom and safety. But as soon as any body of men, however venerable, have the power given to them to dictate to me what I shall think and preach, I shall answer, My compact with the Church of England is over. I swore to the Articles, and not to you.

John Wesley elbowed for himself room in the Church of England; and when *consensus* would have hung him, he sternly appealed to the law and the testimony of England's statutes.

I vary from the Church," he said, "but I will never leave her." He had not much respect for majority votes; and in making a Church he allowed room for varying. And the Methodist Episcopal Church reflects his mind better than any other on earth, as Bishop Simpson told Dean Stanley, at his recent reception in St. Paul's Church.

When we took our ordination vows, we pledged ourselves to the Book of Discipline; we subscribed to certain doctrinal standards contained therein; but we did not subscribe to a library of authors or to an undefined *consensus* of faith. Let us see to it that our Church is in its form a Church of constitutional liberties, and in its spirit one which leaves to the Lord of the conscience judgment upon those questions where unity was never covenanted and can never be enforced.*

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (Philadelphia.)—1. Theories of Education and of Life: Thomas Carlyle; by Rt. Rev. J. Lancaster Spalding, D.D. 2. Cedmon: His Genius and Influence; by Brother Azarias. 3. The Human Soul and Body; by Rev. Walter Hill, S. J. 4. The Present Industrial Condition of Ireland; by Rev. Thomas Quigley. 5. An Autumn in the Rocky Mountains; by General John Gibbon, U. S. A. 6. Was Shakspeare a Catholic? by S. B. A. Harper. 7. How Heresy deals with the Bible; by Very Rev. James A. Corcoran,. D.D. 8. The Catholic Church in the United States in the Recent Translation of Alzog; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 9. Catholicity and Protestantism in Relation to our Future as a People; by George D. Wolff. 10. Missionary Rectors; by Rev. F. Porphyrius.

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (New York.)—1. Ideal Commonwealth. 2. The Battle-field of England and Russia. 3. Matter, Life and Mind. 4. War Indebtment: Its Limitations and Dangers. 5. Voltaire and the French Revolution. 6. The Ecclesiastical Question in Italy. 7. Condition and Prospects of the Southern States. 8. The Development of Art. 9. Alzog's Church History.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. A Better Remedy than Communism for the Unhappiness of the Times; by Rev. Jotham Sewall, Jun., York, Maine. 2. Review of Professor Perry's Political Economy; by President Sturtevant. 3. Recent Evangelistic Movements; by Prof. George P. Fisher. 4. A Scholar of the Twelfth Century. Second Paper; by Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury. 5. Review of Professor Ebers' Novel, "Homo Sum;" by Prof. Franklin Carter. 6. Gloomy Views of American Life; by Prof. W. M. Barbour. 7. Afghanistan and the English; by Prof. S. Wells Williams. 8. The Millenarian; by Prof. Samuel Harris.

---

* This Article is inserted, not as an expression of the Editor's opinion, but to call attention to a question needing review.—ED.

New Englander, March, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. Business Ethics, Past and Present; by Prof. J. B. Clark, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota. 2. The Ministry to the Poor; by Rev. John C. Collins. 3. Female Education and Authorship in China, with a Translation of a Primer for Girls; by Prof. S. Wells Williams. 4. The Latest Utterance on the Doctrine of Extinction; by Rev. Amos S. Chesebrough. 5. English Factory Legislation; by Prof. Johnson T. Platt. 6. Our New English Thanksgiving, Historically Considered; by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D. 7. Reducing Wages to Maintain Rate of Profit; by John E. Curran.

New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1879. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of the Hon. William H. Y. Hackett; by Frank W. Hackett, Esq. 2. Indenture of Lois, an Indian Apprentice, 1751; by Alexander Williams, Esq. 3. William Clarke's Genealogical Statement, 1731; by Frederick L. Gay, Esq. 4. Origin of the Names of Whitmore and Whittemore; by William H. Whitmore, A.M. 5. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. 6. The Davenport Family; by B. F. Davenport, M.D. 7. Record of the Rev. Seaborn Cotton, of Hampton, N. H.; by John S. H. Fogg, M.D. 8. American Prisoners at Forton Prison, England; by William R. Cutter, Esq. 9. The Name of Upham in England; by Lieut. F. K. Upham, U.S.A. 10. John Gay, of Dedham, and his Descendants; by Frederick L. Gay, Esq. 11. Memoranda concerning the Newgate Family; by Charles H. Townsend, Esq. 12. Petition of Jane Armitage of Lynn; by Charles H. Townsend, Esq. 13. Rev. John Eliot's Records of the First Church in Roxbury; by William B. Trask, Esq. 14. English Ancestry of the Topan or Tappan Family; by Herbert Tappan. 15. Longmeadow Family; by Willard S. Allen, Esq. 16. Pre-Historic Copper Implements; by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A.M. 17. Church Records of the Rev. Hugh Adams; by the Hon. Samuel C. Adams. 18. William Johnson and his Descendants; by George W. Johnson, Esq. 19. Notes on the Dover Combination of 1640; by the Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D.D.

Universalist Quarterly, January, 1879. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketches of Sebastian Streeter; by E. G. Brooks, D.D. 2. After-Death Repentance; by Rev. S. Crane. 3. Persian Influence on Jewish Monotheism; by Rev. A. G. Laurie. 4. Purgatory; by T. J. Sawyer, D.D. 5. Comprehensiveness and Liberality in Temperance Work; by Austin Bierbower. 6. Martin Luther; by G. F. Flanders, D.D. 7. The Moral Power of the Resurrection; by Rev. C. R. Moor. 8. The Central Truth of Christianity; by A. C. Barry, D.D.

Bibliotheca Sacra, January, 1879. (Andover.) 1. Organic Forms; by the Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., LL.D. 2. Note on Galatians iii, 16; by Rev. Frederic Gardiner, D.D. 3. The Unchangeableness of God; Dr. Dorner's Essay, translated by Dr. D. W. Simon. 4. Notes on Acts xiv, 16, 17; xvii, 30, and Rom. iii, 25, 26; by Prof. R. D. C. Robbins, Newton Highlands, Mass. 5. American Pre-Revolutionary Bibliography; by James David Butler, LL.D. 6. A Defense of the Catholic Faith concerning the Satisfaction of Christ against Faustus Socinus of Sienna, written by Hugo Grotius; Translated, with Notes, by Rev. Frank H. Foster, North Reading, Mass. 7. Mohammedanism as a Missionary Religion; by Prof. Charles A. Aiken, D.D., Princeton, N. J. 8. Theological Education; No. 1—An Appeal for Higher Theological Training.

Amid the concussions produced by the breaking up of Quarterlies into Monthlies and Bi-monthlies, we trust our ancient friend, the Bibliotheca Sacra, will safely maintain its undisturbed and undamaged character and career. We trust that mere cheapness of price held out for other periodicals will tempt no subscriber to falter from its support. The scholarly Christian cannot afford to lose it. Its elevated yet modest bearing, its pure and genuine erudition, refusing to court popu-

rity by compromise, should be maintained, and on that high and honorable platform we trust it will be effectually sustained. We are frank to say that we have not yet caught the bi-monthly contagion. We have an able Monthly, and should maintain a good Quarterly. But we are not tempted by the example of the New Englander to split our Quarterly into a series of small bi-monthly pamphlets. Were our Quarterly large enough to furnish an imposing bi-monthly section such a move might be wise. But a survey of our synopsis will show that we stand in a large and honorable company, and there we propose to stand until the approaching General Conference in its wisdom or unwisdom shall confirm or change the situation.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, January, 1879. (Nashville, Tennessee.)—1. The Tongue and the Pen; by the Editor. 2. The Atonement; by C. W. Miller, D.D. 3. The Atomic Theory; by Prof. J. W. Glenn, A.M. 4. Æsthetics of Literature; by M. Callaway, D.D. 5. The Ultimate and Universal in Philosophy; by the Editor. 6. Through the Dark Continent; by T. O. Summers, D.D. 7. The Bible in English Literature; by A. B. Stark, LL.D. 8. The Poetry of Tennyson; by J. B. Wardlaw, Jun. 9. The Christian Lawyer and Client; by W. B. Hill, Esq. 10. The German Baccalaureate; by J. C. Hinton, A.M. 11. Marvin at Home; by T. M. Finney, D.D.

We welcome to our table this new Quarterly, reminding us as it does of the antediluvian period when its former self visited us under the editorship of a Summers and a Doggett. It was wise in the General Conference of the Church South to authorize its publication. It is demanded by the literary ability in that Church, that needed an organ for its higher, more elaborate and more permanent utterances. We recognize, too, the wisdom of publishing the names of the authors, thereby drawing into notice a galaxy of literary producers, revealing a literary republic, and enabling us to know who are its members and leaders. In the present number we have especially read Professor Glenn's sharp article upon "The Atomic Theory;" "The Ultimate in Philosophy," by the Editor; and "The Lawyer and Client," by Mr. Hill. This last article ably discusses a topic not often treated, but needing some outlay of thought.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. London Gas. 2. Daniel Manin. 3. What is Science? 4. Religious Equality and Theories of Comprehension. 5. Mr. Arnold on Secondary Education. 6. "Restorations." 7. The Viceroy and the Amir.

CHINESE RECORDER AND MISSIONARY JOURNAL, November, December, 1878. (Mission Press, Shanghai.)—1. A Critique of the Chinese Notions and Practice of Filial Piety; by Rev. Ernest Faber. 2. Kitan; by J. 3. The Family Sayings of Confucius; by Rev. A. B. Hutchinson. 4. The Plants of the Bible; by Rev. R. H. Graves, M.D. 5. In Memoriam; by Rev. J. Innocent. 6. The Elizabeth Bunn Memorial Hospital for Women and Children. 7. A Buddhist Temple converted into a Christian Church; by Rev. Arthur H. Smith.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. The Fernley Lecture for 1878. 2. Stanley's "Through the Dark Continent." 3. The Immediate Future of the United States. 4. Cyprus. 5. The People of Turkey. 6. Lessing's Life and Works. 7. Dr. Graetz and St. Paul.

WESLEYAN METHODIST MAGAZINE, August, 1878. (London.)—1. Memorial Sketch of Mr. W. Pyatt; by Rev. I. E. Page. 2. Watchfulness Needed on our Strongest Points; by Rev. J. H. Beech. 3. Sects of the Commonwealth; by Rev. J. S. Banks. 4. Erskine of Linlathen; by Rev. J. Marrat. 5. Neo-Catholicism and Morality; by an Ex-Roman Catholic Priest. 6. Mr. J. A. Froude on Christian Life; by Rev. G. Blencowe. 7. Embassadors for Christ; by Rev. J. C. Richardson. 8. Current Controversies on the Future State; by the Author of "An Examination of the Doctrine of Conditional Immortality." 9. Etchings from Life; by Sarson. 10. Mr. Kirkman's "Philosophy without Assumptions."

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. Dr. Johnson: His Biographers and Critics. 2. The Papacy: Its Early Relations with Roman Catholic States. 3. The Russians in Turkey. 4. The Cairoli Family. 5. Afghanistan. 6. Niccolo Machiavelli and his Times. 7. India and our Colonial Empire.

[LONDON] QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. Lessing. 2. Aggressive Nonconformity. 3. The Reflection of English Character in English Art. 4. Prince Bismarck. 5. Our Schools and Schoolmasters. 6. Is Political Economy a Science? 7. Dr. Smiles' Works on Self-Help. 8. Russia and the Indian Frontier. 9. Party Government.

[LONDON] QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. John Dryden. 2. Rise of the Modern British Empire. 3. Elephant-Catching. 4. Petrarca. 5. Ancient Cyprus. 6. M. Thiers: His Life and Character. 7. The Lancashire Cotton-Strike. 8. Is the Church of England Protestant? 9. The Revival of Turkey.

The Eighth Article is a powerful argument, derived from the best authorities of the Church, against the assumption that the Church of England unchurches non-Episcopal denominations. The "Church Quarterly" had made the bold assertion of that Church "*that while she receives all convert priests of Catholic orders without re-ordination, she ordains all ministers who come to her from Presbyterian and Protestant Churches.*" —P. 283.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. London Fogs. 2. Ireland Again. 3. What is Science? 4. European Equality and Theories of [illegible]. 5. Mr. Arnold on Secondary Education. 6. "Endowments." 7. The Viceroy and the Amir.

CHINESE RECORDER AND MISSIONARY JOURNAL, November, December, 1878. (Mission Press, Shanghai.)—1. A Critique of the Chinese Notions and Practice of Filial Piety; by Rev. Ernest Faber. 2. [illegible] 3. The Family [illegible] of Confucius; by Rev. A. E. [illegible]. 4. The Plants of the Bible; by Rev. B. [illegible], M.D. 5. [illegible]; by Rev. J. [illegible]. 6. The [illegible] Hospital for Women and Children. 7. A Buddhist Temple converted into a Christian Church; by Rev. Arthur H. Smith.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. The Fernley Lecture for 1878. 2. Stanley's "Through the Dark Continent." 3. The [illegible] Powers of the United States. 4. Cyprus. 5. The People of Turkey. 6. Lessing's Life and Works. 7. Dr. [illegible] and St. Paul.

WESLEYAN METHODIST MAGAZINE, August, 1878. (London.)—1. Memorial Sketch of Mr. W. [illegible]; by Rev. J. K. [illegible]. 2. [illegible]; by Rev. J. H. [illegible]. 3. [illegible] of the [illegible]; by Rev. J. S. [illegible]. 4. [illegible] of [illegible]; by Rev. J. [illegible]. 5. [illegible] Catholicism and Morality; by an Ex-Roman Catholic Priest. 6. Mr. J. A. Froude on Christian Life; by Rev. G. [illegible]. 7. [illegible]; by Rev. J. C. [illegible]. 8. [illegible]; by the Author of "An [illegible] of the [illegible]." 9. [illegible] from Life; by [illegible]. 10. Mr. [illegible] "Philosophy without Assumptions."

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. Dr. Johnson: His Biographers and Critics. 2. The Papacy: Its Early Relations with Roman Catholic States. 3. The Russians in Turkey. 4. The [illegible]. 5. Afghanistan. 6. [illegible] and its [illegible]. 7. India and our Colonial Empire.

[LONDON] QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. [illegible]. 2. Aggressive Nonconformity. 3. The Reflection of English Character in [illegible] Art. 4. Robert Browning. 5. Our Schools and Schoolmasters. 6. Is Political Economy a Science? 7. Dr. Smiles' Works on Self-Help. 8. Russia and the Indian Frontier. 9. Party Government.

[ENGLISH] QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. John [illegible]. 2. Rise of the Modern Roman Empire. 3. [illegible]. 4. [illegible]. 5. Ancient Cyprus. 6. R. [illegible]: His Life and Character. 7. The Lessons of the Cotton-Strike. 8. Is the Church of England Protestant? 9. The Future of Turkey.

The English Article is a powerful argument, derived from the best authorities of the Church, against the assumption that the Church of England unchurches non-Episcopal denominations. The "Church Quarterly" had made the bold assertion of this Church "that while she receives all convert priests of Catholic orders without re-ordination, she ordains all ministers who come to her from Presbyterian and Protestant Churches."—P. 283.

We present the remarkable counter positions of the reviewer:—

NON-EPISCOPAL ORDINATIONS RECOGNIZED FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE YEAR 1662.

The truth is that the orders of ministers ordained in other Protestant Churches were, from the time of the Reformation up to the year 1662, continuously and systematically recognized in the Church of England; and, stranger still, that since the year 1662 they have been formally recognized by law, and conspicuously recognized in practice by English bishops. As to the period up to 1662, the facts are so unquestionable that the evidence of two unimpeachable witnesses will settle the point. The late Mr. Keble, the editor of Hooker's works, was certainly an unbiased witness to a practice which was adverse to his most cherished principles; and he states in the preface to his edition of Hooker's Works, vol. i, p. lxxvi, that "nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no better than Presbyterian ordination; and it appears by Travers's supplication to the Council that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their functions in England."

This admission leaves no doubt that during Elizabeth's reign persons with Presbyterian ordination were admitted to the ministry of the Church of England without re-ordination. An equally unimpeachable witness enables us to carry the evidence to the same practice through the reigns of the first two Stuarts, during the times of Andrewes and Laud, down to the overthrow of the Church of England under the Commonwealth. There is no person whose opinions have been more fondly appealed to by the ritualistic writers than Bishop Cosin, who took a leading part in the last revision of the Prayer Book under Charles II. He has been quoted as the great champion of the so called "Catholic" ritual at that crisis, and he is, therefore, as little likely as the late Mr. Keble to have overstated facts which are adverse to so-called "Catholic" principles. Now Bishop Cosin in a letter dated Paris, February 7, 1650, makes the following statement: "If at any time a minister so ordained [that is, not episcopally ordained] in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England, (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance many others before my time,) our bishops did not re-ordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they would have done if his former ordination here in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received among us, and to subscribe to the articles established."

We present the remarkable counter positions of the reviewer:—

Non-Episcopal Ordinations recognized from the Reformation to the Year 1662.

The truth is that the orders of ministers ordained in other Protestant Churches were, from the time of the Reformation up to the year 1662, continuously and systematically recognized in the Church of England; and, stranger still, that since the year 1662 they have been formally recognized by law, and occasionally recognized in practice by English bishops. As to the period up to 1662, the facts are so unquestionable that the evidence of two unimpeachable witnesses will settle the point. The late Mr. Keble, the editor of Hooker's works, was certainly an unbiased witness to a practice which was adverse to his most cherished principles; and he states in the preface to his edition of Hooker's Works, vol. i, p. lxxvi, that "nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no better than Presbyterian ordination; and it appears by Travers's supplication to the Council that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their functions in England."

This admission leaves no doubt that during Elizabeth's reign persons with Presbyterian ordination were admitted to the ministry of the Church of England without reordination. An equally unimpeachable witness enables us to carry the evidence to the same practice through the reigns of the first two Stuarts, during the times of Andrewes and Laud, down to the overthrow of the Church of England under the Commonwealth. There is no person whose opinions have been more loudly appealed to by the ritualistic writers than Bishop Cosin, who took a leading part in the last revision of the Prayer Book under Charles II. He has been quoted as the great champion of the so-called "Catholic" rites at that crisis, and he is, therefore, as little likely as the late Mr. Keble to have overstated facts which are adverse to so-called "Catholic" principles. Now Bishop Cosin in a letter dated Paris, February 7, 1650, makes the following statement: "If at any time a minister so ordained [that is, not episcopally ordained] in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England, (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance many others before my time,) our bishops did not re-ordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they would have done if his former ordination here in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received among us, and to subscribe to the articles established."

He adds an argument still more remarkable, as showing how completely at that time, in the view of even the highest Churchmen, the Church of England was regarded as united with the other Protestant communities. "If," he says, "upon this ground we renounce the French, we must for the same reason renounce all the ministers of Germany besides, (for the superintendents that make and ordain ministers there have no new ordination beyond their own presbytery at all;) *and then what will become of the Protestant party?*"

In other words, Cosin regarded the interests of the Church of England as bound up with those of the Protestant party; and the fear of fatally injuring the interests of that party was admitted by him as a powerful motive for not refusing to recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination. One other passage from this remarkable letter must be quoted, since it establishes the fact that in the opinion of a High-Churchman of that day—an opinion expressed in a private letter, and at a time when the overthrow of his own Church might have prejudiced his judgment against other Protestant communities—there existed no bar against the reception of the holy communion by English Churchmen at the hands of foreign Protestant ministers. "If," he continues, "the Church and kingdom of England have acknowledged them, (as they did in admitting of them, when they fled thither for refuge, and placing them by public authority in divers of the most eminent cities among us, without prohibiting to any of our people to go and communicate with them,) why should we, that are but private persons, utterly disclaim their communion in their own country? And, therefore, under that protestation which Dr. Testard offers you permission to make, and considering there is no prohibition of our Church against it, (as there is against our communicating with the Papists, and that well grounded upon the Scripture and will of God,) I do not see but that both you and others that are with you may (either in case of necessity, when you cannot have the sacrament among yourselves, or in regard of declaring your unity in professing the same religion, which you and they do) go otherwhiles to communicate reverently with them of the French Church."

In one word, Cosin recognized that in the French Protestant Church the sacraments were "duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite unto the same;" and this, he implies, had been the deliberate and continuous judgment of the Church of England up to the time he wrote. As he also states in this letter, he did not regard the French ministers as "so duly and rightly ordained, as they should be by those prelates and bishops of the Church who, since the apostles' time, have only had the ordinary power and authority to make and constitute a priest." But the assumption that a less perfect ordination was equivalent to no ordination at all, he denied.—Pages 284, 285.

PARLIAMENT ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR VALIDITY IN 1662.

If the practice to which Cosin bears testimony was consistent with the former preface, it is hard to see why it should be inconsistent with the latter. It is to the Act of Uniformity itself—that is, to one of those acts of the civil Legislature which the ritualists repudiate—that recourse must be had if the rule and practice of the Church of England are to be shown to have been rendered more stringent in 1662. It is unquestionable, as we have said, that by this authority episcopal ordination was for the future rendered *prima facie* indispensable in the case of all persons who were to be admitted to the cure of souls in the English Church. But at the very moment of insisting on this qualification as a general rule, the Act *makes an exception in favor of the members of foreign Protestant bodies.* Immediately after the clauses which, in England, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, require episcopal ordination as a preliminary condition to the tenure of a benefice, and to the administration of the Lord's Supper, the Act proceeds: "Provided that the Penalties in this Act shall not extend to the Foreigners or Aliens of the Foreign Reformed Churches, allowed, or to be allowed, by the King's Majesty, his Heirs and Successors in England."

The Act, in fact, appears to draw a distinction, which had been previously drawn during the reign of Elizabeth, in the case of Travers, between *irregularity* and *invalidity.* Travers was silenced, not because his orders were Presbyterian—for that, as we have seen, was not in itself regarded as a sufficient objection—but because, being an Englishman, he had refused English ordination, and had gone abroad to be made minister according to the Genevan system. Similarly, it was thought proper, in 1662, that for the future episcopal ordination should be established as the rule of the English Church for Englishmen; but *care was expressly taken to guard against its being supposed that, by making this regulation for ourselves, we denied the validity of other forms of ordination in Protestant Churches.* Thus the very Act which is sometimes assumed to have finally cut us off from communion with other Protestant Churches contains a clause which expressly asserts that communion.—Pp. 285, 286.

BISHOPS APPOINTED OVER AND RECOGNIZING PRESBYTERIAN CLERGY.

But there remains one other striking piece of evidence as to the view taken in our Church, both before and after the restoration, of the validity of non-episcopal orders, and, by consequence, of our substantial union and communion with other Protestant Churches. Much is sometimes made of the fact that the bishops who were consecrated for Scotland in 1661, and who had not received episcopal ordination, were first ordained deacons and priests. It is doubtful whether this preliminary ceremony was necessary, even according to the strictest traditions of ecclesiastical discipline.

But this is of very slight importance, compared with the far more conclusive fact which followed upon the consecration. These bishops went to Scotland to preside over Scotch Presbyterian clergy. Is there any evidence to show that they required those clergy to submit to episcopal re-ordination? If not, then the whole body of Presbyterian clergy in the neighboring kingdom were at one stroke recognized as in valid orders, and the strongest and most Calvinistic Protestantism in the world was, at the very moment when episcopacy was triumphant in England, recognized as compatible with the episcopal principles of the English Church. Very similar measures had been taken in 1610. Scotch Presbyterian priests were then consecrated without re-ordination; they went to their dioceses to preside over a Presbyterian clergy, and when an attempt was made to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland, it was upon a Presbyterian clergy that it was enforced.

Our readers will find many forcible illustrations of these points in the remarkable pamphlet entitled "Apostolical Succession not a Doctrine of the Church of England," quoted at the head of this article. The doctrine of apostolical succession of which the writer speaks is that of the Church of Rome and of the new school of English High-Churchmen; and he has no difficulty in showing to demonstration that such a doctrine is inconsistent with the whole tenor of teaching and practice in the Church of England from the Reformation to the present century. He is a pervert to Roman Catholicism from the Church of England, and the extreme horror he displays at the portentous Protestantism he exposes in the English Church would be sometimes amusing if we were not restrained by a sentiment of respect for its sincerity and seriousness. He illustrates the facts we have stated above respecting the communion between our Church and Foreign Reformed Churches by several instances in which ministers of those Churches, both before and after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, were admitted to benefices and preferments in England; and he mentions many other circumstances which are equally instructive and conclusive. Among other things he states that after the period of the Reformation the Bishops of Winchester, whose diocese includes the Channel Islands, continously recognized, as under their jurisdiction, and as competent to exercise the functions of parish priests, ministers of the French Protestant Churches; and he mentions that the first episcopally ordained minister of the island of Sark was appointed in 1820. For generations, it would seem, those islands were in the position of Scotland in the seventeenth century; except that in this case Presbyterian congregations formed actually a part of the diocese of an English bishop, and were thus practically embodied in the English Church itself.

In a word, the Church of England has strenuously contended for the maintenance of Episcopacy as the primitive, and therefore the best form of Church government; but by numerous authoritative acts, and by the voices of her greatest divines, she has no less steadily recognized the validity of orders otherwise conferred, and

> has constantly maintained communion with other Protestant Churches.—P. 287.

The absolute conclusiveness of these facts in our argument against the necessity of an apostolic succession of bishops to the validity of a Church is transparent. The Wesleyan ground is the true ground of the English Church.

Contemporary Review, March, 1879. (London.)—1. Belief in Christ: Its Relations to Miracles and to Evolution; by Rev. J. LL. Davies. 2. The Anomaly of the Renaissance; by Vernon Lee. 3. New Planets near the Sun; by R. A. Proctor. 4. Self-Government in Towns; by J. A. Picton. 5. The Position and Influence of Women in Ancient Athens; by James Donaldson, LL.D. 6. Confession: Its Scientific and Medical Aspects; by George Cowell, F.R.C.S. 7. Ancient Egypt, III; by R. Stuart Poole, Corr. Inst. France. 8. The Duke of Argyll's History of the Eastern Question; by Rev. Malcolm Macoll. 9. The New Religious Movement in France; by Josephine E. Butler. 10. Greek and Latin: Their Place in Modern Education:—I. On a Radical Reform in Teaching the Classical Languages: by Professor J. S. Blackie. II. On the Worth of a Classical Education; by Professor Bonamy Price.

In the last three numbers of this Review we are furnished with a serial history of Egypt, according to latest researches, by the learned Egyptologist, Reginald Stuart Poole. The present number discusses especially the relations of Egyptian to Biblical history. He considers the date of the exodus, and the Pharaoh under which it took place, as reliably identified; the age of Joseph, less certainly, but very probably. We give the following important extract:—

> The Egyptian documents emphatically call for a reconsideration of the whole question of the date of the Pentateuch. It is now certain that the narrative of the history of Joseph and the sojourn and exodus of the Israelites—that is to say, the portion from Genesis xxxix to Exodus xv, so far as it relates to Egypt—is substantially not much later than B. C. 1300; in other words, was written while the memory of the events was fresh. The minute accuracy of the text is inconsistent with any later date. It is not merely that it shows knowledge of Egypt, but knowledge of Egypt under the Ramessides, and yet earlier. The condition of the country, the chief cities of the frontier, the composition of the army, are true of the age of the Ramessides, and not true of the age of the Pharaohs contemporary with Solomon and his successors. If the Hebrew documents are of the close of the period of the kings of Judah, how is it that they are true of the earlier condition, not of that which was contemporary with those kings? Why is the Egypt of the Law markedly different from the Egypt of the Prophets, each condition being described consistently with the Egyptian records, themselves contemporary with the events? Why is Egypt described in the Law as one kingdom, and no hint given of the break-up of the Empire into small principalities men-

tioned by Isaiah? (xix, 2.) Why do the proper names belong to the Ramesside and earlier age, without a single instance of those Semitic names which came into fashion with the Bubastite line in Solomon's time? Why do Zoan-Rameses and Zoar take the places of Migdol and Tahpanhes? Why are the foreign mercenaries, such as the Lubim, spoken of in the constitution of Egyptian armies in the time of the kingdom of Judah, wholly unmentioned? The relations of Egypt with foreign countries are not less characteristic. The kingdom of Ethiopia, which overshadowed Egypt from before Hezekiah's time and throughout his reign, is unmentioned in the earlier documents. The earlier Assyrian Empire which rose for a time on the fall of the Egyptian nowhere appears.

These agreements have not failed to strike foreign Egyptologists, who have no theological bias. These independent scholars, without actually formulating any view of the date of the greater part of the Pentateuch, appear uniformly to treat its text as an authority to be cited side by side with the Egyptian monuments. So Lepsius, in his researches on the date of the Exodus, and Brügsch, in his discussion of the route, Chabas, in his paper on Rameses and Pithom. Of course it would be unfair to implicate any one of these scholars in the inferences expressed above, but at the same time it is impossible that they can, for instance, hold Kuenen's theories of the date of the Pentateuch so far as the part relating to Egypt is concerned. They have taken the two sets of documents, Hebrew and Egyptian, side by side, and in the working of elaborate problems found every thing consistent with accuracy on both sides; and of course accuracy would not be maintained in a tradition handed down through several centuries.

If the large portion of the Pentateuch relating to the Egyptian period of Hebrew history, including as it does Elohistic as well as Jehovistic sections, is of the remote antiquity here claimed for it, no one can doubt that the first four books of Moses are substantially of the same age. The date of Deuteronomy is a separate question. Leaving this problem aside, the early age of the first four books does unquestionably involve great difficulties, but not nearly so great as the hypothesis of late date, when they are confronted with the Egyptian records.

Those who refuse to accept the results of the most advanced school of Hebrew critics on the ground that they are inconsistent with the evidence of the Egyptian documents, must beware of throwing themselves into the arms of the other extreme party, who deny the value of criticism, and refuse to accept the evidence of partial compilation and redaction patent in the biblical texts. It would be a fatal loss to science were the fruits of German and Dutch criticism neglected for a year, criticism which, though sometimes rash and arrogant, is in general acute, learned, honest, and not without a reverence the apologists, those Uzzahs who are always putting their clumsy hands to the Ark, cannot imagine. Of this criticism it may be said that its excellences in analysis are marred by its defects in constructive skill. Its facts are admirationed by Isaiah? (xix. 2.) Why do the proper names belong to the Ramesside and earlier age, without a single instance of those Semitic names which came into fashion with the Bubastite line in Solomon's time? Why do Zoan-Rameses and Zoar take the places of Migdol and Tahpanhes? Why are the foreign mercenaries, such as the Lubim, spoken of in the constitution of Egyptian armies in the time of the kingdom of Judah, wholly unmentioned? The relations of Egypt with foreign countries are not less characteristic. The kingdom of Ethiopia, which overshadowed Egypt from before Hezekiah's time and throughout his reign, is unmentioned in the earlier documents. The earlier Assyrian Empire, which rose for a time on the fall of the Egyptian, nowhere appears.

These agreements have not failed to strike foreign Egyptologists, who have no theological bias. These independent scholars, without actually formulating any view of the date of the greater part of the Pentateuch, appear uniformly to treat its early portions as authority to be cited side by side with the Egyptian monuments. So Lepsius, in his researches on the date of the Exodus, and Brugsch, in his discussion of the route, Chabas, in his works on Rameses and Pithom. Of course it would be unfair to implicate any one of these scholars in the inferences expressed above, but at the same time it is impossible that they can, for instance, hold Kuenen's theories of the date of the Pentateuch so far as the part relating to Egypt is concerned. They have taken the two sets of documents, Hebrew and Egyptian, side by side, and in the working of elaborate problems found every thing consistent with contemporary on both sides; and of course accuracy would not be maintained in a tradition handed down through several centuries.

If the large portion of the Pentateuch relating to the Egyptian period of Hebrew history, including as it does Elohistic as well as Jehovistic sections, is of the remote antiquity here claimed for it, no one can doubt that the first four books of Moses are substantially of the same age. The date of Deuteronomy is a separate question. Leaving this problem aside, the early age of the first four books does unquestionably involve great difficulties, but not nearly so great as the hypothesis of late date, when they are confronted with the Egyptian records.

Those who refuse to accept the results of the most advanced school of Hebrew critics on the ground that they are inconsistent with the evidence of the Egyptian documents, must beware of throwing themselves into the arms of the other extreme, those who deny the value of criticism, and refuse to accept the evidence of partial compilation and redaction patent in the biblical text. It would be a fatal loss to science were the fruits of German and Dutch criticism neglected for a vast criticism which, though sometimes rash and arrogant, is in general sound, learned, honest, and not without a reverence the apologists, those literalists who are always putting their clumsy hands to the ark, cannot claim. Of this criticism it may be said that its excellence is unhappily marred by its defects in constructive skill. Its facts are valuable lly chosen, but its theories are hastily put together, their very multitude being sufficient to arouse the keenest mistrust. For if a school has produced from the same evidence many distinct hypotheses of the date of a set of documents, all but one theory must be false, and, therefore, the great majority are in error, and if we trust ourselves to a guide he is in a minority of one.

The wise course is to devote all our labor to the collection of facts, the accumulation of which, on the true principle of all scientific discovery, will ultimately form correct theories. The learned world is more grateful for one solid volume of new facts than for a library of airy fancies. All such work honestly done is in truth work of which the results will last forever.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. Brieger.—*Essays:* 1. BORNEMAN, The Baptismal Symbol of Justin the Martyr. 2. LENZ Zwingle and Landgrave Philip, (First Article.) 3. GASS, The Position of the Apostles' Creed Two Hundred Years Ago and Now. *Critical Reviews:* MÖLLER, Review of the Works on the History of Christian Doctrines, published from 1875 to 1877. *Miscellaneous:* 1. LOWENFELD, On the History of the Papal Archives in the Middle Ages. 2. HERTEL, A Remark on the History of Columba. 3. SCHULTZE, Documents relating to the History of the German Reformation. 4. BRIEGER. Professor Baumgarten's Request Relative to John Sleidan. 5. HARNACK, Statistics of the Russian Church.

The so-called Apostles' Creed has recently become the subject of a very animated controversy in the Protestant Churches of Germany and other countries. Should it be retained in the liturgies and catechisms of the Churches? Should ministers and members be required to assent explicitly to its entire contents? Should explicit dissent from any part of its contents be deemed sufficient reason for deposing ministers and excluding members? Opinions are greatly divided on the subject, and some Churches are considerably excited by the progress of the controversy. It may, therefore, be presumed that an article on the subject by one of the most distinguished German writers on the history of Christian doctrines, Professor Gass,* will be

---

* Professor W. Gass, born in 1813, became in 1840 *privatdocent*, and in 1846 extraordinary professor, at the theological faculty of the University of Breslau; in 1847 extraordinary and in 1855 ordinary professor at Greifswald; in 1861 professor at Giessen, and in 1868 successor of Richard Rothe, at the University of Heidelberg. His principal works are: *Geschichte der Protestantischen Dogmatik,* etc., ("History of Protestant Dogmatics," in connection with the general history of theology, 4 vols., 1854–1867,) and *Symbolik der Griechischen Kirche,* ("Symbolics of the Greek Church," 1872.)

widely welcomed in the Protestant Churches. The author treats his subject, not from a polemical, but from a strictly historical, point of view, fully explaining the position which the Protestant theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, on the one hand, and the religious parties of the nineteenth century, on the other, assumed with regard to it. It is well known that Luther, and the Reformers of the sixteenth century, generally accepted the Apostles' Creed, as well as the two other creeds of the ancient Church, (the Athanasian and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan,) without hesitation, as an excellent and venerable compendium of the principal tenets of the Christian religion. The Book of Concord placed them, as ecumenical formulas, at the head of the doctrinal system of the Lutheran Church. No offense was even taken by Protestants generally at the addition of the *Filioque* to the Nicene Creed. For a considerable time there was no notable difference between Catholics and Protestants with regard to the Apostles' Creed. Among the Protestant, especially the Lutheran, theologians, a difference of opinions began to be expressed, when Calixtus, and other Unionists and Synsecrists, opposed the demands of the strict Lutheran theologians as excessive, and in opposition to them designated a belief in the essential doctrines of Christianity, as laid down in the ancient creed, as sufficient for salvation. The strict Lutherans, in the dogmatic controversy which ensued, did not attack the authority, but the sufficiency, of the Apostles' Creed. They regarded many of the doctrines which were peculiar to Lutheran theology, though they were not specially mentioned in the Apostles' Creed, as equally necessary for salvation. The controversy was briskly carried on in 1648 and the following years, and the replies of the Lutheran theologians—Hulsemann, Dannhauer, Calovius, Musaeus, and Quenstedt—contained, to some extent, a lower appreciation of ancient creeds than had been customary in the Lutheran denomination before, and the Wittenberg theologians, in their *consensus repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae*, enumerated the opinion of Calixtus and his friends concerning the fundamental sufficiency of the Apostles' Creed among his most fundamental errors. Dr. Gass feels no sympathy with those Lutheran theologians who regarded every doctrine of the Lutheran system as necessary for salvation; but he believes that, on the

other hand, Calixtus erred in undervaluing the importance of the Reformation and overvaluing the importance of the Apostles' and the other ancient Creeds. The *critique* of the Apostles' Creed by prominent Lutheran theologians called, however, not only attention to the material incompleteness of the creeds, but also to the fact that these creeds wholly omitted what makes their contents a matter of religious faith, namely, the religious reception of the doctrine by the believer. Passing over to the religious parties of the present day, Dr. Gass calls attention to the fact that, while in the seventeenth century the Apostles' Creed appeared to many to contain not enough of the essential Christian doctrines, now it is chiefly objected to as containing many doctrinal statements which are not sufficiently warranted by the Bible. Gass entirely agrees with those who regard parts of the Apostles' Creed as lacking a scriptural basis, but he is in favor of retaining it as a part of the liturgy, on the ground that it is a most valuable testimony of the faith of the early centuries of the Christian Church. In the introduction of his article Gass names the following as the most important recent works on the subject: Swainson, "The Nicene and the Apostles' Creed," (London, 1875;) F. J. A. Hort, "On the Constantinopolitan Creed, and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century," (Cambridge and London, 1876;) Caspari, *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete, und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, (Christiana, 1866–1875, 3 vols.)

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. RIEHM and Dr. KÖSTLIN. Second Number. 1879.—*Essays:* 1. SCHMIDT, On the Lutheran Doctrine of the Sacraments. (First Article.) 2. MEUSS, The Place of the Sermon in the Religious Service of the Evangelical Congregation. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. RITSCHL, Gleanings from St. Bernard. 2. BUDDENSIEG, Luther's Sojourn at Rome. *Reviews:* 1. Knapp's Life of J. F. Oehler, reviewed by KLOSTERMANN. 2. Kreibig's Versöhnungslehre auf Grund des Christlichen Bewustseins, (Doctrine of the Atonement on the Basis of Christian Consciousness,) reviewed by SCHMIDT.

The preface to this number briefly reviews the contributions by the late Dr. Julius Müller to the *Studien*, of which he was for many years one of the assistant editors. Müller's connection with the *Studien* reaches back to the first decennium of this periodical. He had undertaken at that time to illustrate the relation of several prominent philosophical systems to the Christian faith. More particularly he desired to discuss the

claim of the Hegelian philosophy to have found the genuine reconciliation of speculation and the Christian faith. This task appeared to him all the more important because the claim of the Hegelians seemed to find more and more adherents in theological circles. Thus in his controversy with C. F. Göschel (*Studien*, 1833, i, and 1835, iii) he endeavored to prove the Christian faith could not, without destroying itself, admit the demanded recognition of its identity with absolute science. When the radical opposition between the philosophy of the absolute and historical Christianity became fully apparent in the Life of Jesus, by Strauss, and the Essence of Christianity, by Feuerbach, Julius Müller's articles in the *Studien* against these two works were regarded as being among the ablest apologies of evangelical Christianity against its modern opponents. At the beginning of 1856 he became, in the place of Lücke, one of the assistant editors of the *Studien*, and he retained this position until his death. Two articles, which he contributed to the *Studien* in this year, on "The Relation between the Working of the Holy Spirit and the Divine Word as a Means of Grace," are classed among his best literary productions. He was looked upon as the foremost spokesman of the evangelical portion of the United Evangelical Church, (the so-called Consensus party,) and intended to follow up these first articles by others on the sacraments, especially on the Lord's Supper. But his health failed, and made it necessary for him to concentrate his strength for the fulfillment of his duties as professor of theology. He found it impossible to contribute any further articles to the *Studien*, and, therefore, even wished to have his name withdrawn from the list of the assistant editors who are named on the title-page; but he yielded in this point to the earnest solicitation of the editor-in-chief, who wished to retain his name on the title-page as a standing announcement that Müller continued to be in full agreement with the theological principles of which the *Studien* was, and still is, the foremost expounder. The editors of the *Studien* announce that a biography of Müller will, ere long, be published in their columns. This biography will be looked forward to with interest by the entire theological world, for Julius Müller will always occupy a prominent place in the history of theological literature. His principal

work, the "Christian Doctrine of Sin," (1839, 4th edition, 1858,) ranks among the ablest productions of Protestant theology in the nineteenth century. His work, *Die evangelische Union, ihr Wesen und göttliches Recht*, (1854,) is probably the ablest apology of the fundamental principle on which the union of German Lutherans and German Reformed into the United Evangelical Church has been founded. In the place of Julius Müller, two other distinguished theologians, Dr. Dorner and Dr. Wagenmann, have been found willing to associate themselves with the present editors-in-chief, Dr. Köstlin and Dr. Riehm, in the publication of the *Studien*. Dr. J. A. Dorner is well known in the United States by his great work on the "Person of Christ," (English translation by Dr. Simon, Edinburgh, 1859,) also by his work on the "History of Protestant Theology," (English translation, 1871.) Dorner was also one of the founders and chief editors of the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, a theological quarterly which pursued a similar tendency as the *Studien*, but was discontinued at the close of 1878. As Dr. Wagenmann was likewise one of the editors of the *Jahrbücher*, the association of Dorner and Wagenmann with the editors of the *Studien* appears like a consolidation of the two principal literary organs of the evangelical party in the United Church.

We have referred, in former numbers of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" to several interesting articles of the German theological quarterlies on Luther's sojourn at Rome. The article by Dr. Buddensieg, in Dresden, is another interesting contribution to the literature on this subject. Dr. Buddensieg agrees with Dr. Kolde, (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, ii, pp. 460–470,) that Luther was not at Rome, as has been generally inferred from several passages in his own writings, in the winter from 1510 to 1511, but in the winter from 1511 to 1512. But, while agreeing with the results of Dr. Kolde's investigations, Dr. Buddensieg believes himself to have found better arguments for proving the assertion which is common to both writers. He undertakes to show, first, that Luther, while at Rome, saw the Pope; and, secondly, that Pope Julius II. was not at Rome during the winter from 1510 to 1511, but that he was there during the winter from 1511 to 1512. The second point, relative to the sojourn of Pope Julius in Rome, has

also been proved in a new German work by Moritz Brosch on Pope Julius. But with regard to the former assertion, that Luther while in Rome saw the Pope, the editor of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Dr. Brieger, remarks, in the last number of his quarterly, that the argumentation of Dr. Buddensieg does not appear to him as conclusive. The controversy is likely to be continued in the German periodicals; for, as Dr. Köstlin, in his great biographical work on Luther, remarks: "Luther's journey to Rome projects over all other events between 1508 and 1512, on account of the great influence which it exerted upon Luther." On the other hand, all historians are agreed that in regard to no other section of Luther's life there still prevails so great uncertainty as in regard to his journey to Rome. Of late, much new light has been shed on the history of the Reformation by the opening of the Italian libraries, and the publication from them of valuable documents relative to the religious movement of the sixteenth century. It may be hoped that Luther's journey, like other events, may receive from this source new elucidation.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Hilgenfeld. 1879. Second Number.—1. HILGENFELD, The Martyrdom of Polycarp of Smyrna. 2. THOMA, The Old Testament in the Gospel of John. 3. ROENSCH, Fragments of the Itala of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. 4. TOLLIN, Servetus' Doctrine of the World. 5. FRANK, A Glimpse at the Theology of the Nineteenth Century.

The last article of the above number is an address delivered by Dr. G. Frank, Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Vienna, to the students of the faculty. It is a brief sketch (filling fifteen pages of the "Quarterly") of the most prominent philosophers and theologians of Germany who have exerted a lasting influence upon the development of theological science in Germany during the present century. The author is an enthusiastic admirer and disciple of Schleiermacher, whom he calls a highly blessed man, a religious genius, and an original thinker. Schleiermacher, according to Frank, was the great reformer of the Protestant theology of the nineteenth century. Schleiermacher occupies, with regard to modern theology, the same position that Kant occupies with regard to modern philosophy. He examined the religious foundation in man, and brought to light again the covered-up source of religion. "He has overcome both rationalism and supernaturalism, and is,

therefore, attacked by Strauss no less than by Hengstenberg. Though he has not founded, in the strict sense of the word, a school of his own, there is no branch of theology which has not been influenced by him, no prominent theologian who has not learned from him." Dr. Frank closes his speech with a few remarks on the changed position of theology among the sciences. "Only one generation ago," he says, "theology was still the most respected science. To no other department of scholarship, not even of natural science, so many able and intelligent young men devoted themselves as to it. Times have greatly changed. But our courage does not fail us. The knot of history must not be cut in such a way that Christianity goes with ignorance and science with infidelity. Christianity has proved to be the great deed of God in the destinies of nations and individuals, and as the highest and surest truth it will, in all times to come, find its servants and witnesses, who, as enlightened teachers, will unlock its depths, and as characteristic prophets, will announce its glories."

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) December, 1878.—1. E. W., An English Essayist, (Roger Williams.) 2. G. MONOD, The Fine Arts at the Universal Exposition, 1867–1878. 3. SABABIER, On the Theological Spirit.

January, 1879.—1. BERSIER, Man's Place in the Universe. 2. G. MONOD, Foreign Painters at the Universal Exposition. 3. VINCAME, Dr. Wines and the Stockholm Congress for Prison Reform.

In an introduction to the December number, the learned editor of the *Revue*, E. de Pressensé, informs us that this periodical closes with this number the twenty-fifth year of its existence, and he briefly reviews the work it has performed and the great interests of French Protestantism in which it has taken an active and leading part. It also points to the important questions of the present and the future, which await a solution, and to the discussion of which the *Revue* will devote a prominent attention. Pressensé reiterates his unshaken belief in a complete separation between Church and State. He regrets that at present the most trusted leaders of the republican party in France do not favor that principle, but intend to break the force of ultramontane tendencies by means

of State laws. But he is confident that they will be as unsuccessful as the authors of the so-called Kulturkampf in Germany and Switzerland, and that in less than twenty years the Republican party will accept the entire separation between Church and State as a necessity. Among the questions looming up in the future, and inviting a special attention, Pressensé enumerates the remarkable movement among the educated classes of France and Belgium toward Protestantism. A new feature of the *Revue*, hereafter, will be, a *Chronique anglaise*, which will be given every other month, and will alternate with the *Chronique allemande*, which will be continued by Professor Lichtenberger.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA.

IT is generally assumed that the Christian Church in Africa was planted during the Apostolic age. Alexandria, in Egypt, became early the seat of one of the great Ecumenical Patriarchates. The progress of Christianity was rapid, and at an early period nearly the whole of Northern Africa was Christian. The Exarchate of Africa proper contained forty-two, the Patriarchate of Alexandria more than a hundred, dioceses. But in the seventh and eight centuries a terrible and fatal blow was struck to the Church in Africa by the Mohammedan Saracens. Mohammedanism became the ruling religion all along the coast, and has remained so until the present day. Only in Abyssinia a population estimated at about three millions has remained nominally Christian to the present day, but cut off from all communication with the remainder of the Christian world. The Church of Abyssinia has become a withered branch of Christianity. The same remark, though not to the same extent, may be applied to the native Christians of Egypt, the Copts, who are supposed to number from 200,000 to 300,000.

The maritime discoveries which began in the fifteenth century led to the establishment of Portuguese and Spanish sovereignty over large tracts of land. The mass of the population of these territories was prevailed upon or forced to connect itself, nominally at least, with the Church of Rome. The population of the islands on the northwestern coast of Africa have since become strongly attached to the Roman Church. On the coast of the Continent, on the other hand, in Angola, Congo, and Mozambique, little can now be discovered of Roman Catholicism, even by the most devoted writers of the Church, except the retention of some usages and ceremonies. As large numbers of natives continue, however, to consider themselves as Catholics, they still figure in the statistical accounts of the Church,

and inspire the hope that a better and larger class of bishops and priests than the Portuguese have provided for their colonies during the last two hundred years, will be able to rekindle new life in this dead part of the Church. In modern times the conquest of Algeria by the French has opened to the Church of Rome another large missionary field, in which a considerable population of European descent, with a small number of native converts, promises for the future an important addition to the dominion of the Roman Church. The Roman Catholics under British rule live chiefly in the island of Mauritius, which formerly belonged to France, and still is predominantly Roman Catholic. In all the other English possessions the Roman Catholics are in a considerable minority. The Roman Catholic population of Egypt, Tunis, Tripolis, consists chiefly of natives of southern Europe and their descendants; that of Egypt embraces, also, a few thousand Copts, who have entered into a union with Rome. From Madagascar the missionaries send very favorable accounts. A very large number of devoted missionaries have penetrated beyond the boundaries of the European dependencies and the coast countries into the interior; but the numerical results are thus far not commensurate with the zealous efforts of the missionaries.

The English possessions in Africa are rapidly expanding, and though still somewhat inferior to the French possessions in point of population, and to the Portuguese in point of extent, they bid fair ere long to exceed in both respects the aggregate possessions of all other European countries combined. The Church of England has not only occupied all the colonies of the British crown, but missionary bishops have crossed the boundaries, and opened the way for the advance of civilization. The British Government ruled, in 1878, over a territory of 389,000 square miles, containing a population of 2,742,000 persons. The negro Republic, Liberia, has a fully-civilized population of about 20,000 persons, and a native population of about 700,000, among whom a number of mission churches and schools have been built, and who, it may be hoped, will gradually yield to the influence which Christianity and civilization bring to bear upon them. The descendants of Dutch boers constituted until recently two independent States—the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. The latter was, in 1877, annexed to the British possessions, of which it now forms a part; the Orange Free State retains for the time being its independence, and embraces about 45,000 white and 20,000 native inhabitants, the former of whom belong mostly to the Dutch Reformed Church. The same Church, also, predominates in the annexed Transvaal, and even in the Cape Colony there was, according to the official census of 1875, a population of 171,000 connected with the Dutch Reformed Church, while the Church of England had a population of 40,000, the Wesleyans of 32,000, the Congregationalists of 24,000, the Roman Catholics of 10,000, the Presbyterians of 8,000, the Lutherans of 17,000, and the Baptists of 2,000. In the large island of Madagascar, which is credited with a population of 2,500,000 persons, Paganism appears to be on the road to an early and total extinction. The population actually connected with the Christian

Churches, exclusive of the Church of Rome, was estimated in 1878 at about 300,000, and it is rapidly increasing.

In the absence of official accounts it is difficult to give a statistical estimate of the number of Roman Catholics in Africa. A Roman Catholic statistician gives the aggregate population of the Portuguese dioceses as 1,204,000. In the Spanish dominions the entire population, which amounts to 320,000, may be set down as Roman Catholic. In Algeria the Roman Catholic population amounted, according to an official census, to 233,000; the population of Reunion is also mostly Catholic, and it is safe to say that the entire population of French possessions in connection with the Church of Rome will not be far from 370,000. In the British possessions we estimate the Roman Catholic population at 182,000, in Madagascar at 20,000, in Egypt at 28,000, in Tripolis at 3,000, in Tunis at 15,000, in Abyssinia and the missionary diocese among the Gallas at 10,000. Summing up these figures, we should obtain an aggregate population, nominally connected with the Church of Rome, of about 2,152,000.

The total number of the Christian population in the Cape Colony, exclusive of Roman Catholics, is officially stated at 365,000. Adding to these the Christians in the other British possessions, which include among others the Basouto land, Griqua land, Caffraria, Transvaal, the Gold Coast, and Mauritius, the Christian population of the British possessions, exclusive of Roman Catholics, will not fall much short of 700,000. If we assume the Christian population (exclusive of Roman Catholics) of Madagascar at 300,000, of Liberia at 30,000, of Orange Free State at 45,000, of the French possessions at 10,000, of Egypt at 2,000, the Christian population of Africa, exclusive of Abyssinians, Copts, Roman Catholics, will amount to about 1,087,090.

The aggregate population of all denominations of Christians will be at present in the neighborhood of 6,489,000, a small figure in a total population of 205,000,000. It may be safely assumed, however, that the number of Christians will not only steadily, but rapidly, increase. The colonial territories of the Christian powers are largely expanding, their superior power and civilization comes to be more and more recognized, the strength of Mohammedanism, the only rival of Christianity, is waning, and the discoveries of successful explorers are opening to devoted missionaries the way into the remotest parts of the interior.

GREEK CHURCH.

The termination of the Eastern war by the Congress of Berlin has greatly added to the power and prestige of the Greek Church. Two States professing the Greek religion, which were hitherto dependencies of Turkey, Roumania and Servia, have been added to the list of entirely independent States of Europe, and both have received an increase of territory and population. The population of another State, in which the same religion prevails, Montenegro, has nearly been doubled. A new State, Bulgaria, has been formed, in which the Government and the ma-

jority of the population belong to the Greek Church, while a considerable majority are Mohammedans. Though this State will for the present pay an annual tribute to the Sultan, and therefore be nominally a dependency of Turkey, it will really be as independent as Roumania and Servia were before the war, and will ere long achieve its entire independence. The presence of a larger Mohammedan element will only serve to arouse the Greek Church to greater activity and zeal than it displays as yet in the other Christian States of the Balkan peninsula. The same may be expected from Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have been placed under Austrian rule, and in which the Mohammedan nobility will at once be entirely stripped of that ascendency which they have possessed during the last four centuries. It must, moreover, be expected that even in the other Christian provinces of European Turkey which, for the present, remain under Ottoman rule, the Turks will be entirely unable to prevent the Christian majority of the population from manifesting its numerical preponderance.

The population connected with the Greek Oriental Church is 1878 may be estimated about as follows:—

Russia	60,000,000	Bulgaria	1,270,000
Finland	37,000	Turkey (without Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina)	3,800,000
Austro-Hungary	3,180,000		
Bosnia and Herzegovina	600,000	China	5,000
Roumania	4,800,000	Japan	5,000
Servia	1,700,000		
Montenegro	236,000	Total	77,675,000
Greece	1,442,000		

The Greek Church in Austria begins to derive a great advantage from the progress of the University of Czernovitz. It is the only Austrian university which has a theological faculty of the Greek Oriental Church, and at which, therefore, the theological students of the Church have an opportunity of receiving a university education equal to that of the Catholic and Protestant theologians of Austria and Germany. The university was established in October, 1875, with the three faculties of theology, law and political economy, and philosophy; but the philosophical faculty was not completed until 1877, by the organization of the mathematical section. The theological faculty had in the winter semester of 1878–79 six ordinary professors for the departments of moral theology, dogmatics, practical theology, Church history and ecclesiastical law of the Greek Oriental Church, exegesis of the New Testament, besides an extraordinary professor and one tutor. Connected with the theological faculty is a theological seminary and a special theological library. The number of theological students ever since the organization of the faculty has been about forty; the total number of students is about two hundred and twenty.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE work by Professor Gess on the "Person and Work of Christ," (*Christi Person und Werk*, 2 vols., Basel: 1879,) has been completed by the appearance of the second volume. The first volume contains Christ's own sayings relative to his person and work, the second the testimony of the apostles in its historical development.

Professor Schenkel, of Heidelberg, one of the leaders of the *Protestantenverein*, (Rationalistic party in the State Churches,) has supplemented his work on the *Charakterbild Jesu*, ("Life-Picture of Jesus,") by a work entitled, "The Christ-Picture of the Apostles and the Post-apostolic Age." (*Christusbild der Apostel*, etc., Leipsic: 1879.) This work intends to give the history of the views of the Christian Church relating to Christ until the time when they received their permanent form, which, according to the author, was about the middle of the second century.

The new edition of Luther's complete works (*Dr. M. Luther's Sämmtliche Werke*, 18th vol., 2d edition, Frankfort: 1879) has reached the eighteenth volume. Some writings of the great author of the German Reformation appear in this edition for the first time.

Of the excellent edition of the complete works of John Calvin, by Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, professors at the university of Strassburg, four new volumes have been published from 1876 to 1878. (*Joannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. xv to xviii: Brunswick.) Lutheran critics complain that the notes of the edition, the general excellency of which is readily admitted, appear sometimes to be prejudiced against the Lutheran Reformation. This work forms part of the great collection which is published under the title, *Corpus Reformatorum*, the above volumes forming vols. xliii to xlvi of the collection.

Among the latest works on the Apostles' Creed is a lecture by Dr. H. Baron von der Goltz. (*Zur Würdigung des Apostol. Glaubensbekenntnisses*, Berlin: 1878.) It treats of the history of the creed, its value and right use. The author holds a high position in the Prussian Church, and occupies a kind of middle ground between the strictly orthodox and the Rationalistic parties.

The biography of Johannes Gossner, by H. Dalton, pastor of a Reformed congregation in St. Petersburg, (*Johannes Gossner, ein Lebensbild.*, 2d edition, Berlin: 1878,) is commended as one of the most interesting biographies of German Protestant divines. Gossner, a convert from Roman Catholicism to evangelical Protestantism, is one of the most venerable representatives of modern German Protestantism, especially by his marvelous activity in behalf of Protestant missions.

The first volume of a new "History of Israel," (*Geschichte Israels*, Berlin: 1878,) by J. Wellhausen, has appeared. This work will be completed in two volumes. The author had previously become known as an

exegetical writer by a series of articles on "The Composition of the Hexateuch," in the *Jahrbucher fur Deutsche Theologie*, as well as by his contributions to the fourth edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.*

Professor Lange, the editor of the well-known Bible-Werk, which was completed in 1877 by the appearance of the thirty-sixth volume, now publishes in rapid succession text-books of different branches of theology. Text-books of an *Encyclopedie*, a *Hermeneutik*, and an *Ethik*, have appeared in the course of one year.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Franz Delitzsch, D.D., Professor of Theology, Leipsic. Translated from the German by Thomas L. Kingsbury, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2 vols., 8vo. pp. 401, 492. 1871. [Scribner's Imported Edition.]

The name of Dr. Delitzsch is familiar to Christian scholars in Europe and America. His productions in Biblical Commentary and Biblical Psychology have rendered him famous as a bold and penetrative thinker, and a leader in the ranks of an earnest evangelical theology, illustrated with a profound research. We cannot always follow him to his conclusions, but we realize the erudition and ingenuity with which they are attained. In this present commentary his thorough acquaintance with both Rabbinical and Alexandrian Jewish literature (in which his translator, too, is no ordinary master) enables him to take clear and strong grounds in regard to the process by which public religious thought was bridged over from the Old covenant to the New. He maintains very firmly the canonicity of the book of Hebrews; and he does it by assigning a higher share than is usually conceded to Alexandrian Hebraism in the translation from old to new. He maintains the claim of Jerusalem as the place to which the epistle is addressed, but denies the Pauline authorship, assigning it to Luke. For both this assignment and this authorship we think his reasons insufficient, being mainly based on minor particulars, as the use of a number of words and forms of idiom, which are found both in Hebrews and Luke's acknowledged writings. These peculiarities are solvable on the long intimacy between Paul and Luke. But the view, which we purpose an attempt to maintain, is that the epistle was unquestionably, as Delitzsch maintains, addressed to Jerusalem, and that that destination involves the Pauline authorship.

TO WHOM WRITTEN.

The title of the book, "to the Hebrews," if not given by the author, must have been adopted by its copyists and readers upon its earliest circulation. It is the only title found in all the earliest manuscripts and copies in every part of the world. Its earliest receivers from the author, its earliest publishers and circulators, must, therefore, have certainly been "Hebrews."

But what is meant by "Hebrews?" Primarily it designates those of Hebrew descent, whether born in Palestine or not. Thus Paul, though born in Cilicia, out of Palestine, asserts himself as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews." Phil. iii, 5; 2 Cor. xi, 22. At one time, in Jerusalem, (Acts vi, i,) it is used in antithesis to Hellenists, or Jews by descent, but of foreign birth. This appears to have been but temporary, for the words appear later to be used especially in application to the entire Christian Church at Jerusalem. Thus Delitzsch says, "The Church of Jerusalem actually bore the title *ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων εκκλησία*, (Clementis Ep. ad Jacob. hom. 11, 35,) as consisting entirely of Hebrews." So Eusebius in his Church History (iv, 5) says that the Jerusalem Church consisted *of believing Hebrews*, *εξ Ἑβραίων πιστῶν*. So, as we might expect, the very title of the book to the Hebrews not only points to Palestine, but designates the capital of Palestine, the sacred head of the Hebrew race.

This designation is confirmed by two considerations. First, the epistle, however widely it was to be afterward circulated, was primarily addressed to a single Church; and, second, the circumstances show that Church to have been Jerusalem. That it was primarily addressed to a single Church is clear from the last chapter, which is familiar in its tone, and adjusted to the peculiarities of a particular Church, especially the last three verses. The writer there informs the Church of Timothy's liberation, of his own hope soon to visit them with Timothy, and gives them the salutations of the Italian Christians present with him. It is certain, therefore, that this epistle was sent to and received by a single local Church.

And this Church was Jerusalem. To what single Church would an epistle intended for the Hebrew Christians in general be addressed, but to the old representative capital? We should assume this anticipatively, and maintain it until we are met by fair counter proof. The presumption is also against any sideway city, as Cesarea, or Alexandria; none of which ever made any claim in the early ages to the honor. If the epistle was written (as Stuart is inclined to think) to Cesarea, it is unaccountable that Euse-

bius of Cesarea, the great Church historian, never heard of it. If written to Alexandria, strange that the line of illustrious Alexandrian scholars, including Origen, never dreamed of it. If to Rome, (as Alford conjectures,) it is unaccountable that early Rome ignores or rejects both its Paulinity and its canonicity. We are thus shut up to Jerusalem alone.

This view is confirmed by the minute knowledge of the temple ritual required by the epistle of its readers. Scholarly men might, indeed, be familiar with these details, but our author is not addressing the learned class, but the mass of the people. To the men perfectly acquainted with their *minutiæ* the appeal is first made, namely, to Jerusalem Christians, and then the epistle could well go the rounds of all the Palestinian, and then the Gentile, Churches. Particularly the phrase, "without the gate," (xiii, 12,) presupposes that the mind of author and reader is at Jerusalem. Delitzsch acutely remarks, that in the epistle the constant antithesis is not between the *synagogue* and the *Church*, but between the temple and the ἐπισυναγωγή, or *episynagogue* of the Christians. "No traces," he remarks, "are found of any such purely Jewish Churches, as this addressed Church was, in the dispersion."

The assumption that this epistle was addressed to Jerusalem agrees remarkably with the relations of Paul to that Church. It was about six years before its writing that Paul visited Jerusalem, attended by a retinue of friends, bearing donations from Greece and Asia to the "poor saints at Jerusalem." He was, with his friends, "received gladly," and was entertained at the house of Mnason, "an old disciple."* The next day he was received in state by James with the elders, whom he "saluted," and favored with a full report of his missionary success "among the Gentiles," for which "they glorified the Lord." Acts xxi, 17–20. It is plain that the heart of the Church, including James, was fully with Paul. So it had been at the Jerusalem Council, years before. Acts xv, 1–19. But as at the Jerusalem Council, so at this last visit, there was a body of Judaistic outsiders bitterly opposed to Paul. As it was the week of Pentecost, *myriads* of rural Judaistic Christians were in town, and it was fatally concluded that

---

* And this fact answers the objection, that the "saints" of Jerusalem, being "poor," could not have exercised the hospitalities ascribed to receivers of this Epistle. (vi, 10.) But Paul and his company had experienced these very hospitalities, and could afford to give credit for them. The plentiful hospitalities which, as "mother church," the Jerusalem Christians had to exercise, may have contributed to make them "poor."

Paul should perform a ritual to conciliate them. In this performance he was assaulted by a mob of anti-Christian Jews, from them was rescued by the Romans, and sent into what proved an imprisonment finally at Rome. Peculiarly apposite is his application of the word "restored" (xiii, 19) to his return to a Church from which he had thus been violently snatched without even permission to bid them a hasty farewell. That with this Church he should afterward retain exchanges of communication, and that to it he should address a memorable epistle second only to his Roman, has an interesting presumption in its favor. It precisely tallies, also, with the facts, that while the closing chapter amply reveals his person to the Church he addresses, his name should be withheld from its commencement, in order that its circulation among the Judaistic Churches of Palestine might not be impeded. This is the ancient solution; and we hold it as still standing good. It blends beautifully, too, with the testimony of the primitive Pantænus, yet to be given, that Paul declined to style himself "apostle" in writing to the Jerusalem "Hebrews," reverently conceding that title, as the epistle truly does, to Him who was alone the divine Apostle to the chosen race. Heb. iii, 1.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE.

Of the three great divisions of the Church, the EASTERN, including Asia Minor and Palestine, the ALEXANDRIAN, and the WESTERN or ROMAN, the first two received the epistle as Paul's, the last rejected it both as canonical and Pauline. Yet those who received it as historically Paul's did frequently, on account of its peculiarity of style, conjecture it either to have been translated into Greek from a Hebrew original written by Paul, or that in some way Paul's thoughts had been clothed with verbiage by another pen than Paul's; as a guess, perhaps Luke's or Clement's. And here we reject the illegitimate process by which Lünemann and others bring out a very illegitimate anti-Pauline conclusion. They illogically confound a matter of historical *fact*, namely, the true authorship by Paul, with a matter of *opinion*, namely, a conjectural solution of the problem of the style. Eliminate the mere *opinion* from the historical fact, and we have left a very clear *consensus* of the Palestinian and Alexandrian Churches in the actual authorship by Paul. And this elimination should be made. For in a matter of style the modern critic may be as well able to judge as the ancient; but in a matter of fact the modern inquirer depends upon the ancient testimony. The one is guess, and the other is history.

I. That the PALESTINIAN CHURCH, to whom the epistle was addressed, received it as Paul's, is a very decisive fact. If the epistle was written to Jerusalem, Paul was certainly its author. The closing chapter of the epistle entirely demonstrates that the true author was known to the Church addressed, and that in all probability he subsequently visited the Church in company with Timothy. Three or four years afterward Jerusalem was swept out of existence, and was unable to make its claim to be the Church of this epistle. And yet all the East claimed it as written to the East. The title *To the Hebrews* was stamped upon it. And when the Peshito version, which was a translation of the Greek Testament into the Palestinian vernacular, was made, Hebrews was inserted by Palestinian authority in the canon, and in immediate connection with the Pauline epistles.

Though no early Eastern writers are now extant to be quoted in behalf of Paul's authorship, yet we have the most conclusive evidence of the unanimity of the East. ST. JEROME, though a Latin writer, spent a large share of his life in Bethlehem-Judea, and the real view of the East is by him repeatedly stated. He declares that it was received not only by the Churches of the East, but by all the ecclesiastical writers, as Paul's, and was daily read in the Eastern Churches.

EUSEBIUS, the father of Church history, resided in Cesarea, Palestine, and was among the first to give a complete and critical catalogue of New Testament books with their authors. He declares fourteen epistles (which number would include Hebrews) "are clearly and certainly Paul's." He ranks it as undisputed, except by some who dissented in deference to the Roman opinion. According as he reckoned or not these dissenters it was disputed or undisputed. The *dissent was not native to Palestine.*

In default of extant remains of ancient eastern writers we have some important indications of this unanimity. The Council of Antioch, in about A. D. 264, issued a letter in regard to the heresy of Paul of Samosata, containing passages quoted from our book of Hebrews, and one, as Stuart says, is "directly ascribed to the same apostle who wrote the Epistle to the Corinthians. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, vii, 30." This was, of course, a testimony of a unanimous body of eastern bishops.

The argument is very conclusive that 2 Peter iii, 15, 16, (which, whether genuinely Peter's or not, was a document of the Eastern Church,) attributes this epistle to Paul. The words are: "Even as our beloved brother Paul also according to the wisdom given

him hath written unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things, in which are some things hard to be understood." On these words we note: 1. They speak of a particular epistle written unto "you," in distinction from "all his epistles." There is an antithesis between "all" and "written unto you." One particular epistle is isolated from "all" the rest. 2. That one was written to "YOU;" that is, to the converted "Hebrews." For it was to such that the First Epistle to Peter was written, (1 Pet. i, 1;) and "this second epistle" was written to the same, as appears by 2 Pet. iii, 1. The one epistle "written unto you" was written to the Hebrews, and could be no other than this epistle. 3. The topic treated by that one was the retribution of the judgment-day, a topic on which Hebrews is abundantly copious. 4. The phrase in this passage of 2 Peter, "things hard to be understood," (*δυσνόητά τινα*,) is too peculiar and too coincident with "hard to be uttered," (Heb. v, xi,) *δυσερμήνευτος λεγειν*, *hard-to-be-interpreted to speak*, not to be a direct reference. So many coincident facts are very decisive that Paul is here declared by the author of 2 Peter to be the writer of Hebrews, as a fact notorious to the Hebrew Christains.

II. Less primitive, but more learned, than the Church of Palestine was the CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA, founded, according to good authorities, by St. Mark. Connected by a single intermediate generation or two with St. Mark was the founder of the celebrated Alexandrian theological school, PANTÆNUS, who was succeeded in the theological chair by Clement of Alexandria. Both Pantænus and Clement historically ascribe the Epistle to Paul, yet conjecturing from the style that it was either a translation of an original Hebrew by Paul or was clothed with its verbiage by some other author.

ORIGEN was the most eminent biblical scholar of his age. He taught in Alexandria, his native city, through the earlier part of his life, but later in Cesarea, Palestine. He was master of all the Alexandrian and Palestinian Christian literature. Historically, his judgment is as follows: "Whatever Church holds this to be an epistle of Paul's, let it receive approval; for it is not without reason that the men of antiquity (*Oἱ ἀρχατοι ἄνδρες*) have handed it down as Paul's." Yet Origen pays his respects to the then "modern" criticism. "Nevertheless," says he, "who wrote the epistle God only *knows;* but a rumor has come to us, of some saying, that Clement, Bishop of Rome, wrote it; and of others saying that it was written by Luke." Lay the emphasis on *knows*, and

the whole is clear and true. Decisive as the historical testimony is, the style has produced conjectural opinions, and absolute truth on the subject is known to God alone.

III. The Western or Roman Church, a Church defective in learning, on the contrary, gave this epistle a slow and cold reception, either ignoring it entirely, or ignoring its Paulinity, and even rejecting it from the New Testament Canon. Clement, Bishop of Rome, at the close of the first century, quotes it, but does not name the author. Irenæus, of Lyons, and Hippolytus, of Novi Portus near Rome, may both be put down as unknowing it. It is uncertain whether the epistle was received into the earliest Latin version of the New Testament, certainly not as Paul's. The Muratorian Catalogue of New Testament books, belonging at Rome to the second half of the second century, does not clearly name it. There is, however, a remarkable passage in this catalogue, which in the Latin, as corrected by Westcott, (*Canon of the New Testament*,) reads thus: "Fertur etiam ad Laodicenos, alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine finctæ ad hæresim Marcionis." The last "ad" Westcott holds to be a translation of the Greek πρὸς, and so may be rendered *in regard to.* We may translate thus: "There is in circulation an epistle to the Laodiceans, another to the Alexandrians, forged under the name of Paul, in regard to the heresy of Marcion." We shall soon give reasons for supposing this epistle to the Alexandrians to be our Hebrews. In the Latin Church of Africa Tertullian quotes the epistle in support of a position of his; but he quotes it as written by Barnabas; and he imagines that he is exalting its credit, by calling attention to the fact that Barnabas was no less than an apostle's colleague! Both the Paulinity and the canonicity of our epistle would fail if judged by early Rome alone. The reasons we take to be nearly these. The Church of Jerusalem, the mother Church of all, being demolished and dispersed, was unable to assert her claim to the honor of being its recipient, and no other Church had any claim to assert. The epistle traveled, as an orphan, slowly westward. And the farther the East from which it came, (as from Jerusalem rather than Cesarea,) the clearer the explanation of this slow reception. It came to Rome, not like Rome's own great epistle, as well as all the other Pauline epistles, headed with the illustrious name of Paul, but anonymous. Nor did its first chapter open like the Roman document, with an elastic Romanic majesty, but with a certain Alexandrian rhythm and tune. In addition to this, it is held by such scholars as Wetstein and

Hug, that such passages as Heb. vi, 4–8, and x, 26–31, were quoted by the heretical Montanists at Rome to prove their doctrine, that fallen members of the Church should never be re-admitted. The Roman Church bitterly opposed this Montanist view, and so rejected this anonymous epistle from the East that seemed to sustain it. It was not until A.D. 494 that a Roman council, headed by Pope Gelasius, included in their catalogue of canonical books fourteen epistles of Paul, which, of course, embraced Hebrews. The Council of Trent confirmed this decision.

RIVAL CLAIMS TO ITS AUTHORSHIP.

Against the other names proposed as authors of this epistle the arguments appear conclusive.

BARNABAS is historically, and not conjecturally, named by Tertullian alone. None of his great African successors, as Athanasius and Augustine, accept the opinion, but ascribe the epistle to Paul. His native island of Cyprus makes no claim for Barnabas; on the contrary, Epiphanius, the learned Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, sustains the claim of Paul. The opinion of Tertullian has had scarce a follower in any age.

The other rivals, as Clement, Luke, and Apollos are named, not on primitive historical evidence, but as solutions of the problem of style.

CLEMENT, being Bishop of Rome, if he were the author of the epistle, would have been loudly sustained by Rome. The epistle would not have been an orphan and a fugitive, but a native and a power, in the West. Besides, his style is far less like that of the epistle than Paul's own style.

LUKE was a native of Antioch; and Antioch was amply able to give notoriety to his claim; but Antioch speaks for Paul alone. And of Luke, too, we affirm that his style is far more unlike the style of Hebrews than is Paul's own style. What has Luke written that indicates that he could have written that grandiloquent first chapter of Hebrews? Where in Luke's style is the first tinge of Alexandrianism? What authority had Luke entitling him to write the magisterial rebuke of Heb. v, 12–14?

APOLLOS is the last, but not the poorest, guess, having been first suggested by Luther fourteen centuries after date. So far as style of language is concerned, we might say that Luke's description of him in Acts xviii, 24–28, renders him a fair candidate; but not as to style of mind. He appears as a rich, popular orator,

easy to follow, mighty in Scripture. But there are traits in Hebrews of difficult transition, broken connections of thought, and suspensions of the subject in order to digression, which are by no means easy for the mind to follow, and which are inconsistent with the Apolline theory, and call for Paul alone.

THE SURE TOKEN OF A PAULINE EPISTLE.

Paul never specified his name at the head to be the sure token of an epistle *from* him, but *the benediction at the end.* This token he gave in one of his earliest epistles (2 Thess. iii, 17, 18) as the sure test, in these words: "The salutation of [me] Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.* Amen." This benedictory salutation is given in all his thirteen epistles; and this token, it is very significant, and, we think, very conclusive to note, is carefully and explicitly given at the end of Hebrews. Thus, while the display of his name was not allowed to impede the general circulation of the epistle, the token of his authorship was carefully given to his friends at Jerusalem. Finally, if Delitzsch's suggestion on i, 1, is valid, then Paul's name, twice written, does stand occultly at the head of the epistle, as the first syllable, Pol, of the two first leading Greek words, πολυμερῶς and πολυτρόπως; a secret guarantee, perhaps, to his friends, but invisible to the eyes of his opponents, and so leaving its diffusion impeded throughout the Christian Hebrew world.

THE TWO SOLUTIONS OF THE PROBLEM OF STYLE.

The maintainers of Paul's authorship have suggested two conjectural solutions of the question of the supposed un-Pauline style of the epistle. The *first* is the hypothesis that Paul, by converse or by notes, gave the thoughts, and either Luke, Clement, or Apollos wrote them out in his own style. The *second* is the assumption of an original Hebrew, of which the present epistle is a Greek translation, by one of the above writers.

Of these two solutions the preferable would be the hypothesis of a Hebrew original, with a translation under Paul's supervision. Of that translation, as it stands, we can conceive no one capable but Apollos. He may have furnished the Alexandrian surface finish; have yet preserved the Pauline peculiarities of connection and transition underlying; have secured, in Alexandrian fashion, the uniform reference to the Septuagint; and, with Paul's

association, have hit off the Greek word-plays, and even the verbal argument upon the *covenant-testament.* (ix, 15–18.) There is some appearance in the words of Clement that there was historical authority for it; but the fatal defect is that there is no known trace of the existence of any such Hebrew original. The objection might be plausibly, but not satisfactorily, obviated by supposing it lost in the destruction of Jerusalem and dispersion of the Church.

SUGGESTION OF A THIRD SOLUTION.

As this is a field still open, we venture a solution of our own. There were, to the later Jewish Church, to the New Testament, and to St. Paul, both a rabbinical and an Alexandrian side. Rabbinism, with its Targum and its Talmudical traditions, belonged to Babylon and the East; Alexandrianism, with its Septuagint and its Philonean philosophies, belonged to the West; and both blended their influences upon Palestine and Jerusalem. Delitzsch, who has profoundly studied this subject, very strongly maintains that Alexandrianism performed a very important and divinely-appointed part in bridging over the public thought from the old covenant to the new. Philonism was a brilliant effort to bring the narrower, yet most divine Old Testament thought into unison with the new expansive age. This it could not by any speculation successfully do; for it required Christ with his divine history to unite the new to the old. Thence it became important to take the right elements that both Rabbinism and Philonism furnished, and reconstruct them into Christian verity. Paul did this largely in regard to Rabbinism in Romans, Colossians, and Galatians. John did this in regard to the Logos, or Word; and in John a shade of the Alexandrian style is distinctly visible. In St. Paul such a reconstruction is somewhat performed in Galatians iv, 21–31, where see our notes. The same Alexandrianism appears in the speech of Stephen. But its greatest work, after John, is in this Epistle of Hebrews, and we venture to believe that the work was performed solely by Paul himself.

In working this problem it must not be forgotten that Paul had a variety of surface styles, with a wonderful identity of underlying mental style. Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and Timothy are remarkably different in surface colorings; yet we feel the one underlying mind of Paul dealing with us in all. There is a great difference in surface, and even spirit, between the first chapter of Romans and the eighth chapter. The style of that eighth chapter approaches that of Hebrews more than it does that of the first

chapter. Specially does Romans viii, 18–23, exhibit the same mystical blend of grandeur and slow moving pathos with Hebrews. Who can doubt that 1 Cor. x, 1–11, and Heb. ii, 7–19, came from the same pen?

Now at Jerusalem there was one or more Alexandrian synagogues, and the speech of St. Stephen shows that an Alexandrian spirit pervaded the air. Among the Alexandrian liberalists of Jerusalem rather than among the rabbinical bigots, Christianity was likely to prevail. The rabbinical side emphasized the human Messiah, and tended to reject his divinity, and so ran into Ebionism. The Alexandrian preferred the ideal, almost impersonal, Logos Messiah, and were stumbled at our Lord's humiliation, weakness, suffering, and death. Philo had taught them this transcendentalism, attenuating the Messiah of prophecy almost into an idealism. It was, then, to save this Alexandrians class of Christians at Jerusalem that Paul wrote this epistle. His whole epistle is one great effort to reconstruct Philonean Messianism into Christian Messianism. He begins by affirming all the transcendental grandeur of the Messiah's origin in the highest style of Philonism; he shows how thereby the very humiliations are as sublime as they are tender. How glorious is his picture of the divine apostle Messiah; how touching, melting, winning, his portraiture of the suffering, dying priest-victim Messiah! And then all the ritual of Mosaicism is wrought into a vivid symbolism of that divine sufferer's expiation. Thereupon with what tearful pathos, yet awful menace, does he warn his Hebrews from apostatizing from his living-dying Christ!

Now let us suppose that, having learned the danger of Hebrew apostasy, and, probably, having learned that a large section of the Jerusalem Church had in fact already so apostatized, our apostle, after his release, stopping at Rome, or, as Mr. Lewin suggests, at Puteoli, or at Ephesus, (where John's style shows that Alexandrinism was no stranger,) had spent some weeks in reading over the works of Philo and his school, with purpose of this reconstruction. He is about to address a class of thinkers to whom that style is very attractive. Just as he once talked Hebrew to win the Hebrew Jerusalemites, (Acts xxii, 2,) he can now talk Philo to win these Alexandrian Jerusalemites. He even takes passages from Philo, tones them to a higher style, and makes them express truths higher than Philo knew. His own mind has a side of sympathy for this style as well as for the measures of the Greek poets, or the wisdom of the rabbies. Partly

unconsciously, and partly consciously and willingly, he would, at least in parts of his essay—for this style reigns only in *parts*—adopt the style with which he was then imbued. He will give to his Alexandrians at Jerusalem a better Philo than Philo. And then we shall understand those strange words of the Muratonian Fragment, quoted on a previous page, about the "epistle to the Alexandrians forged in the name of Paul in regard to the heresy of Marcion." The epistle was truly Paul's; it was truly addressed to the "Alexandrians," but to the Alexandrians at Jerusalem; it was, not intentionally, but really, a powerful refutation of the "heresy of Marcion;" for Marcion rejected the God of the Old Testament, whereas the very first chapter of Hebrews sublimely identifies the Son with the Father, the Jehovah of the old covenant.

Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament. By HEINRICH EWALD. Translated from the Eighth German Edition, by JAMES KENNEDY, B. D. 8vo, pp. 323. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York, Scribner & Welford. 1879. Price $3 75.

Ewald was one of the most profound scholars of Germany; and although his originality and independence often degenerated into dogmatism, yet his opinions are every-where entitled to respect and consideration. His *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräische Sprache*, is the most comprehensive treatment of that language, being exceeded in the department of etymology only by Böttcher's gigantic treatise; and the studious public will be the more gratified at the above reproduction, in an English dress, of the syntactical part of Ewald's noble work, which in this department still remains unrivaled. We are also pleased to find that the translator has prefixed to this volume Ewald's analysis of the Hebrew tenses and moods, which is still the most acute and exhaustive treatment of those difficult points, unless we except the monograph of Driver on the former. We are not altogether prepared to acquiesce in Ewald's terminology, for we doubt whether the word *imperfect* is a good substitute for the old "future" of the Hebrew verb, as if it fundamentally denoted *incomplete* action. In our opinion the Hebrew future is rather a *subjunctive mood*, essentially expressing a conditional or SUBJECTIVE relation; while the præter is an *indicative*, expressing an absolute fact or OBJECTIVE relation. But as this is an incidental matter in the volume under consideration, we will not pause to debate it.

The syntactical construction of the Hebrew language is in general so simple, and so greatly analogous in this respect to that of modern European nations, at least in comparison with

the complicated and artificial arrangement of the Greek and Latin, that grammarians have been tempted to pass it over too lightly. Ewald, has, therefore, done an excellent service, in the treatise before us, by unfolding more elaborately and in detail its structure. This he has done, too, in no empirical or superficial manner; but he has every-where endeavored to penetrate to the principles of the syntax, and thus has evolved its philosophy. Of course, this process is largely subjective, and, therefore, liable —especially with a German—to be pushed into doubtful, if not speculative, *minutiæ;* yet we cannot fail to admire his ingenuity and research, even where we cannot fully follow his subtleties or rest in his conclusions. The study of such a book is highly stimulative and suggestive. It is refreshing amid the otherwise dreary waste of dry technicalities. We have always admired "Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar" as a model in respect to this philosophical analysis of the forms of words, and, to some extent, their relations; and we have heard it said that this deeper insight into the genius of the language was largely due to his contact in some way with the oral lectures of Prof. Ewald. But this could hardly have been the case, for Nordheimer studied at Würzburg and Munich, came to America in 1835, and published his grammar in 1838; whereas Ewald began to lecture on Hebrew, at Gottingen, in 1835. Certain it is, however, that these two authors have, by a remarkably analogous method, elucidated the sacred tongue as it never was done before.

The main body of the volume before us treats of the structure of the Hebrew sentence; that is, it takes up the Syntax not in the formal and prescriptive way usual with grammatical treatises, but seeks to develop it as a growth out of the germinal idea of the writer. In the first part, after the consideration of the use of the article with the noun, we have the "structure and meaning of particular groups of words, as members of a sentence." The first kind of word-group is the verb with its dependent terms, namely, (1) the direct (accusative) or indirect relation, (preposition, etc.;) (2) a subordinate verb (either with a preposition or a conjunction.) This is a beautiful analysis, but we perceive some signs of confusion between these two subdivisions: for example, the dependent infinitive with a preposition is really but a noun in the accusative, and the verb connected by a conjunction is rather a separate clause than a member of the same sentence. Nevertheless, the author's distinctions are substantial, and their collocation is such as to rivet the attention, and illustrate the peculiar nature of the

language. The second word-group is the Genetival relations, ("construct state," and other modes of attribution;) namely: (1) by a chain of words, (2) by concatenation of terms, (3) by circumlocution. Each of these methods is elaborated in detail. The third kind of word-group is by a simple co-ordination, (or apposition.) This, we suggest, might have been placed first, as the simplest form of regimen, although philosophically perhaps the latest, as being more elliptical.

The second part of the book discusses the more complicated relations of syntax under three heads: (I) The formation and completion of each sentence; (1,) as to its members, whether principal, (subject and predicate,) secondary, (qualifying or adverbial terms,) or imperfect, (the infinitive construct;) and (2) as to the connection of the words, whether by position, (showing their relation and force,) or by specialty of kind, (as negative, interrogative, or exclamatory.) Next (II) are considered dependent propositions: (1) relative, (whether by a separate word, implication, or the *oratio obliqua;*) and (2) copulative, (whether by the usual connections, stronger conjunctions, or causal, inferential, and antithetical particles.) Lastly, (III,) we have correlative propositions, whether conditional, (*protasis* and *apodosis*,) equated, (by parallel particles,) or miscellaneous, (chiefly antithetical.) This is followed by some remarks upon longer and more complex sentences, and the appendix indicates how well the train of accents supports the foregoing series of constructions.

It will be perceived, from the above brief analysis, that the two parts of the syntax pursue the same progressive order of classification. It has occurred to us that perhaps greater brevity, simplicity, and clearness might have been attained by combining the two under each head. But this would have been to proceed after an American and not a German fashion, and surely an author ought to be allowed to choose his own method. The whole work is rather designed as a final *exposé* of the underlying *rationale* of the language, than as a school manual for beginners. For teachers and advanced scholars it will be a mine of exploration, or at least a rich field of observation. J. S.

Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. Vol. I of the [Theological and Biblical] Library. By HENRY M. HARMAN, D.D., Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature in Dickinson College. 8vo., pp. 738. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Professor Harman's volume professes to be drawn from original sources, and to be no second-hand work. It is based upon the

best text not only of the original sacred Canon, but of the Targums, the Peshito, the Samaritan, and the Greek and Latin fathers. The learned author lays the best German scholarship under free contribution, without usually surrendering his judgment to authority. In giving his own verdict on the many occurring points of profound interest there has been such a rehearsal of opinions and authorities, and such a weighing of evidence, and there is such a sturdy statement of judgment, that the student feels a solid confidence generally in the results. Perhaps, as a whole, this confidence is rather increased than diminished by his occasional independence of even opinions usually considered as the more orthodox.

Of the seven hundred pages of the body of the work more than two hundred are devoted to substantiating the authenticity and truth of the Pentateuch. This is a proper share, for the Pentateuch is the basis of Revelation. If the Pentateuch stands firm no other ancient sacred books opened before us in comparative theology can stand as rival before it. This alone must be considered as revelation *coming down from God*, and all the others are ascending attainments made by men. Those attainments may, indeed, be the noble aspirations of our best human intuitions, aided by the divine Spirit, and may contain salvatory truth. But the Pentateuch alone, if authentic and true, is *organic revelation.* The Abrahamic is alone the Messianic line. Hence Dr. Harman has done a good and great work in giving us a solid demonstration of the reliability of the Pentateuchal record. Taken both in its own true historic solidity, and as confirmed by Christ, the Pentateuch will "stand acknowledged while the world shall stand." And thus, with Dr. Harman's volume by their side, such books as Max Müller's "Origin and Growth of Religion," noticed on another page of this Quarterly, may be read by the student not only without harm, but with profit.

Of most of the disputed books of the Old Testament Dr. Harman is a stalwart defender as to their authenticity and integrity. He firmly maintains the position of Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch. He furnishes a very impregnable defense of Daniel. He will not allow the book of Isaiah to be "sawn asunder." In the New Testament he is strong in his maintenance of the Gospel of John. On the other hand, he yields the Solomonian authorship of Ecclesiastes, the Pauline authorship of Hebrews, the Petrine authorship of Second Peter, and the Domitianian date of the Apocalypse. On most of these points we must remember that there

have long been differences of opinion within even the evangelical Church. Eusebius divides the books of the New Testament into disputed and undisputed. Professor Harman accepts the canon as it stands, with full admission of the different degrees of evidence by which different books are sustained. On several points of this kind we dissent from his views, and we doubt not that in a future edition he will find some things to modify. As a whole, his book may be earnestly recommended for introduction into our courses of study. Our ministers in general will find it well worthy an attentive study, and there are many thoughtful laymen among us who would find its pages full of interest and value. Our notice of it would be more extended, but we expect a full review from a competent pen.

Predestination and Freewill and the Westminster Confession of Faith. With Explanation of Romans ix. and Appendix on Christ's Preaching to "The Spirits in Prison." By JOHN FORBES, D.D., LL.D. 8vo., pp. 116. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1878.

This thin octavo is an enlargement, brought down to the demands of the present hour, of a large section of Dr. Forbes' Commentary on the Book of Romans, noticed in our Quarterly a few years ago. It is a brave and elaborate attempt to read Arminian doctrines into a Calvinistic creed, so that our Scotch brethren may talk with John Knox and hold with John Goodwin. We approve of Dr. Forbes' doctrines, and admire his dexterity in paradox, but we reject and condemn his methods. If our Christian brethren, who have unfortunately inherited a fatalistic creed, find themselves obliged to believe freedomistic doctrines, the manly and truthful way is to reject the false, both in form and meaning, and accept or reconstruct a new and true. Otherwise there is great danger that prevarication and double meaning will ensue. There are two distinct theologies: one based on fatalism, predestination, inflexible decree; the other on freedom and conditional salvation or damnation. It is worse than useless, it is falsifying, to undertake to identify these two, or to attempt to force the meaning of one into the formula of the other. Augustine did positively and essentially differ from Chrysostom, Calvin from Arminius, Episcopius from President Bogerman, and Wesley from Toplady. What would the Calvinists of Dort have said if John Hales had claimed that the theology of the Remonstrants was really expressed by the decrees of the Synod?

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religions of India. Delivered in the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, in April, May, and June, 1878. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. New York: Scribner & Sons. 1879. 12mo., pp. 382.

In the earliest "Chips" from his "German Workshop" Max Müller told us that the main impulse that inspired his researches in the ancient Aryan songs and rituals was the desire to ascertain the nature of religion as it comes to the human mind. This volume may, therefore, be considered as a mature report of his "finds" in that primeval region. He has traced in the records of those ancient breathings of the human spirit the risings of religion in the human soul to its highest attainment thus far. Those records he believes to be the most ancient of human compositions, and he has, therefore, traced our divine aspirations to their earliest historic source. His process and conclusions are stated with great clearness and confidence. "We decline," he says, "to avail ourselves of the beaten tracks of the fetich theory on the left, and the theory of a primordial revelation on the right side, in order to arrive at our goal. We want to find a road which, starting from what every body grants, namely, the knowledge supplied by our five senses, leads us straight, though it may be slowly, to a belief to what is not (or at least not entirely) supplied to us by the senses—the various disguises of the infinite, the supernatural, or the divine."

Our readers will, from this, perceive that Müller's theory of religion is entirely Pelagian. Religion springs *up*, it does not come *down*. It evolves out of man; it comes forth not from God. It is a growth, not a gift. It admits no true revelation, no witness of the Spirit, no conscious communion of the soul with God. This, of course, places him at issue with the entire structure and mass of the Old Testament and the New, an issue little diminished by his occasional complimentary quotations of some moral or divine utterance of Jesus. Yet is Max reverent, and doubtless sincere; and while he cannot be unreservedly accepted as an oracle in theology, he is admissibly a clear expositor of many valuable truths, and the liberal evangelicist will find in his pages many a rich illustration of theologic doctrine. He stands by the side of Martineau and Stanley, representatives of the very Broad Church, who are not safe teachers for the Christian Church, and yet who do often a manly service against the Tyndalls, the Huxleys, and the Haeckels of our day.

With Müller the Infinite is a central name for the supernatural, the holy, the divine. Historically, as traced through the ancient records of Aryan India, man begins at the flat hard-pan of the physical senses. The tangible, the visible, is the base of his knowledge. Thence his thoughts start upward to the semi-tangible, the hills and the mountains, and finally to the skies. At that high summit the clouds, the winds, the storms, are his gods, and, finally, the sun is his sole deity. But, dissatisfied with these secondaries, he mounts at last to the divine Primary, the true Infinite. This attainment sounds the downfall of polytheism, and disperses the Pantheon into nothingness. Thence come gradually the idea of law, of ethic, of faith, of the absolute and perfect religion. We are all on the right track, and faith assumes that we shall all, at last, attain the right goal.

We have often said that we suspect the enthusiasm of the specialist, until his theories, with the facts on which they are professedly based, have once been well ventilated and sunned by publicity. For all his brave assumptions of the supreme antiquity of Aryanism, an antiquity which he liberally measures out, *ad libitum*, by thousands of years, he has no history to show, no chronology. He has nothing but a pile of hymns and rituals, which narrate nothing, and only give us spasms of fancy, and rubrics for devotion and sacrifice. The Aryans were utterly destitute of the historic spirit. Who could by the Book of Psalms, increased to sevenfold its volume, make out a history? To place such a literature in competition with the consecutive and time-measured narrations of the Pentateuch, or even the monumental records of Egypt, is specialism. With the Septuagint figures, at any rate, we are yet to learn any insuperable obstacle to including the entire range of Aryanism within the limits of the post-Noachian chronology. And so, in our view, ages of human existence, with a divine revelation, preceded the residence of our Aryan fathers between the Amoo and the Hindu Koosh.

Periodicals.

Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the English Language and Literature. By John A. Weisse, M.D. New York. 1879. Pp. 700.

This big volume contains a series of tables, about one hundred in number, in which extracts from English writers of different periods are analyzed, with a view to determine the relative proportions

of the several elements of our language, at every century of its history. This work, if done carefully and under proper conditions, might be of very considerable value. Students of Shakspeare know how much has been accomplished of late, merely by counting syllables, toward settling the order of his plays, and suggesting conclusions of a most interesting sort; it is quite possible that analogous methods of study might do much to give something like numerical precision to our knowledge of the nature and growth of the English vocabulary. But a very slight examination of Mr. Weisse's tables will suffice to show their real value. In the first place, the passages analyzed are too brief. It is impossible to draw any just inferences as to the general character of an author's diction from a sample only half a page in length. The attempt to do so leads to some curious results. For instance, Mr. Weisse decides that the style of Dr. Johnson is not so highly Latinized as that of Hume, of Robertson, or even that of our plain Ben Franklin. The Anglo-Saxon element he pronounces to be as large in Milton's vocabulary as in Shakspeare's, larger in Jeremy Taylor's than in John Wesley's. Such conclusions as these, it is obvious, must be mistaken. Nor are the passages analyzed sufficiently numerous to furnish data for any trustworthy judgments as to the progress or development of the language. We are asked to form an estimate of the character of the language in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and of the changes through which it passed during that time, from an examination of six meager scraps, all which together hardly occupy two octavo pages. It is further to be noticed that the extracts chosen for examination are selected with very little judgment, and are often in no sense representative of the language at the period which they are designed to illustrate. Many are taken from obscure or worthless writers, some from the newspapers, and some from purely technical writings, such as a manual of military tactics, (p. 552,) or even a cook-book, (p. 536.) And, lastly, we imagine that a careful examination of these tables will suggest grave doubts of their accuracy, and perhaps of the philological attainments of even "a thirty years' student of the English language," who repeatedly labels such words as *rice* and *moneth* "Græco-Latin," which the merest tyro in English knows to be pure Anglo-Saxon.

But Mr. Weisse's tables, poor as they are, are the best part of his book. As for the rest of this bulky volume, we hardly know how to describe it. It is a curious *olla-podrida*, into which the

author has cast all bits of information that chanced to come in his way, and then stirred them well up together. There is no glimmering sense of method or proportion. Madame Ophra Ben, who, we are told, "opened the galaxy of English female intellect," gets a couple of pages of eulogy, while Milton is turned off with a few lines, and no room at all is found for Addison, Swift, or Steele, Shelley, Keats, or Burns. Most, however, of the curious medley of facts here got together have no discoverable relation to the subject of the book; and to say that they are utterly without arrangement is to come short of the truth. In the chapter on the Nineteenth Century, after giving us various disquisitions upon the Atlantic Telegraph, Schiller, Sir William Jones, Spiritism, the Steam-engine, Madame Blavatsky, Phrenology, Daguerre, Astrology, now and then some personal reminiscences, such as a rubbishy story about the hand of an Egyptian mummy, the author draws a long breath and takes a fresh plunge, as follows: "A most attractive theme remains—Woman, whose capacities were (have been) extolled throughout this work, covering fourteen centuries."

Such a miscellany might be of some interest from its very oddity, had not the author contrived to fall into mistake in almost every statement that has any thing to do with his subject. Dates are given with great profusion, but with greater carelessness; and the more important the date the more likely is it to be wrong. The dates of the first publication of Milton's "Paradise Lost," Pope's "Essay on Man," and Johnson's "Lives of Poets," are all given wrongly. In one short passage of ten lines on Spenser (p. 349) there are six dates; three of them are incorrect. In other matters of fact the blunders are still more ludicrous and inexcusable. Students of English literature will be surprised to learn that "John Lilly penned several *dramas, among which* figured Euphues," (p. 346,) and that "Dryden immortalized himself by translating *Homer and* Virgil into English *hexameter*."—P. 426. But it is in his account of Chaucer that the author has done his worst. In one paragraph of less than a page (pp. 269, 270) there are ten distinct and separate errors in matters of fact. All the results of the last fifteen years' study of Chaucer seem to have escaped the notice of Mr. Weisse. On page 271 we are informed that "Chaucer must have had great comfort in his family: his son, Thomas Chaucer, became Speaker of the House of Commons, and his daughter, Alice, married the Duke of Suffolk." It is certainly to be hoped that Chaucer had "comfort in his family," though recent study

of his life leaves that somewhat doubtful; but if he did, it must have been from reasons other than those here mentioned. Alice Chaucer was the daughter of Thomas Chaucer, not of Godfrey; while as to Thomas Chaucer himself, there is no evidence whatever that he was in any way related to the poet. The account in the following pages of Chaucer's influence upon the formation of our tongue betrays an entire ignorance of the results of recent study, and an entire misconception of the nature and limits of the influence which any author *can* exert upon the development of the language which he employs.

Many other errors might be pointed out, but these will suffice to show the thoroughly untrustworthy character of the book. It may seem ungracious to say that the enthusiastic and well-meant but misdirected labor of thirty years is here thrown away; but nothing else would be truth. It only remains to say, that, after all his study of English, the author has not yet learned to write it.

C. T. W.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Geschichte der Reaction Kaiser Julian's gegen die Christliche Kirche. (The Emperor Julian.) Von FRIEDRICH RODE, Ph.D. Jena: H. Dabis. 1877.

It is rare that so much excellence is contained in so small a book. A critical history of the reaction of the Emperor Julian against Christianity brings us into contact with many very interesting problems. Dr. Rode's work has the advantages of careful erudition, honest objective love of the truth, and a pleasing, concise style. It is not a full history of Julian the Apostate, but only a discussion of his career under its religious aspects. By careful research the author has been able to disentangle many features in his subject which had thus far remained confused. By rectifying the general chronology of the incidents he has succeeded in depicting the incipiency, growth, outbreak, and collapse of the apostasy with a precision never before reached. The order of subjects treated of is thus: Literature of the question; the state of the Church at Julian's accession; Julian's apostasy to Hellenism; his religious attitude as regent of Constantine; the attempted reformation of Hellenism; Julian's maxims in his treatment of the Christians; the severance of the Church from the State; the relations of the Christians to the imperial court; the emperor's edict against the Christians; his proceedings at Antioch; political measures in aid

of the apostasy; Julian's relation to antichristian riots; the progress of the reaction during the war against Persia; the death of Julian, and its immediate consequences. The general verdict of Dr. Rode is justly severe against the sophist emperor, though not so dark as it is often given. He says: "Until quite recently Julian's name has been laden with crimes of which he unquestionably never was guilty. He was even charged with slaughtering human beings that he might read the future in their vitals. But while freeing his name from such slanders, the tendency has been to rush to the other extreme, and to make him out better than the facts will warrant. Julian was no magnanimous hero, nor even a clear-sighted politician. Had he returned from his Persian war, it seems probable that circumstances would have made of him a blood-thirsty tyrant." As to the long-credited report that Julian died uttering the words: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" they are not found before the time of Theodoret, and are unquestionably unworthy of credit.

Grundriss der Theologischen Encyklopædie, mit Einschluss der Methodologie. (Outlines of Theological Encyclopedia, including Methodology.) Von Dr. J. P. Lange, Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

A compendious outlining of the whole field of theology for the use of students and of clergymen. It is written in that peculiarly comprehensive and not very enjoyable style for which Lange is noted. It therefore requires intense attention on the part of the reader; but the effort will be amply repaid. The book need not supersede Hagenbach, though it is intended to be, and is, a reconstruction and improvement of that standard work.

In his introduction Dr. Lange elaborately defines theology, theological encyclopedia, and methodology, and sketches their several relations to each other and to philosophy in general. He lays great emphasis on the fact that theology, in order to be clearly understood, must be looked upon as a synthetic process. The whole substance of revealed religion constitutes a historical life, and consists of two factors, history and doctrine. Accordingly, the theological encyclopedia will consist of two parts—a historical and a didactic. The first part sketches the formative process of objective theology, as also the formative process, that is, the history of subjective theology or methodology. The second part presents the theological encyclopedia proper, or the organic system of special theological branches. These branches are divided into historical and didactic. Among

the historical are embraced: the history of revelation, exegetics, church history, and the history of doctrine, of culture, and of politics. Among the didactic are: dogmatics, ethics, and practical theology. While the author aimed in general to move in a sphere high above all controversy, he yet could not avoid an occasional, vigorous sally against the convenient foe. We heartily commend his work.

Einfluss des Englischen Quakerthums auf die Deutsche Cultur und auf das Englisch-Russische Project einer Weltkirche. Von BRUNO BAUER. Berlin: Groffer.

A depiction of the influence of Quakerism on Germany and on the Russo-Greek Church. News to many that such an influence has been exerted at all; and yet here is a solid book, which undertakes to trace that influence through a series of really interesting and fresh chapters. It is a history of subjective religion; that is, of a tendency to break away from the mechanism of forms, and to find a common religious brotherhood in the sphere of the feelings. Mr. Bauer begins with the historical incident of the meeting of William Penn with Peter the Great, and the harmony of views which is said to have resulted. Here he describes the tidal wave of subjective and rationalistic religion which has made such havoc with formal orthodoxy during the last century and a half. Stages in this movement are: German Pietism, and the careers of Edelmann Zinzendorf, Semler, Madam Kruedener, Alexander I., and the fanatical Goldmann. The book closes with a critique of the recent union efforts between Old Catholics, Russian-Greeks, and Anglicans in the Congress at Bonn. The outcome of the book is to signalize the termination and death of Quaker influence upon Russia. In other words, Russia has renounced the policy of tolerance, and now exacts of all dissidents that they submit to the formal orthodoxy of the Russo-Greek Church. The work is the fruit of very wide reading.

La Rivista Cristiana. (The Christian Review.) Fourth Year. Florence.

A monthly theological "Review," published by the professors of the Waldensian Seminary at Florence, but using in its pages the help of the best men of all the Protestant Churches and missions in Italy. Scientific in contents and catholic in spirit, it cannot fail to strengthen the cause of a pure Gospel in the wide and promising field of united Italy. Among its large list of contributors we notice able articles from the Waldensian theologians, Comba, Geymonat, Revel, Pons, Vittorini, and Ribetti; from the Methodist

Episcopal pastor, Gay; the liberal Catholic, Perfetti; the Reformed, Jules Bonnet; and from three Lutheran pastors, Baurath, Else, and Roenneke. Among the recent articles the most valuable are of a historical character. Some of them furnish exceedingly interesting sketches, based on newly explored archives, of the progress which the Reformation had once made, and of the cruel measures by which it was arrested in fire and blood. We wish this "*Rivista*" a long life.

Die Christliche Kirche an Uebergang. Von Dr. C. BURK. Stuttgart, 1877. Verlag der Evang. Gesells.

Twelve lectures on the transition of the Church from the Greco-Roman to the Germanic age. Dr. Burk writes in popular animated style, and is thoroughly in earnest. His lectures are lively pictures of great Church movements. First, he sketches the relation of the Church to the world, then the peculiarities of the early Christian life, then the struggle against heresy, then Church usages, then Christian literature and the style of preaching; and lastly he depicts the conversion of the various western nations and the origin of the great national Churches—the French, the German, and the Anglo-Saxon. It is certainly a good sign that German prelates prepare such lectures, and that the German public flock to hear them.

Alcuin und Sein Jahrhundert. Von Dr. KARL WERNER. Paderborn, 1876. F. Schoeningh.

Thanks to the patient scholar who delves in the moth-eaten past, and restores to us animate pictures of buried centuries. Dr. Werner has done the public a good service. His theme is a magnificent one: the Age of Alcuin is the Age of Charlemagne. We have carefully read the book. It is a good one. It shows us the great *Kaiser* and the humble *Priest* joining hands to rescue Europe from the impending night of savagery and ignorance. We are let into their innermost thoughts, their little foibles and their great and good aims. We read their most private letters. We see their sincere concern for the Church of God. Romish as this Church was, it was about the only visible ark of God among men. It, or nothing, could save the nations against the stupendous clouds of blackness which threatened from every horizon. How the great Karl tried to stir up dying literature to fresh life! How the patient, laborious priest toiled to awaken the clergy to a higher sense of their sacred duties! We have only commendation for this work of Karl Werner.

Episcopal pastor, Gary; the liberal Catholic, Pertinax; the Bi-lutheral, John Kennedy and four trusted Lutheran pastors, Barnes, Else, and Rosenmeie. Among the twelve articles the most valuab are of a historical character. Some of them furnish extremely interesting sketches, based on newly explored archives, of th progress which the Reformation had once made, and of the cru measures by which it was arrested in fire and blood. We wi this "Zeitfrage" a long life.

Die Christliche Kirche im Alterthum. Von Dr. C. Bruhl. Stuttgart, 1877. Verlag der Evang. Gesells.

Twelve lectures on the transition of the Church from the Gr co-Roman to the Germanic age. The Bish writes in popular ani mated style, and is thoroughly in earnest. His lectures are liv pictures of great Church movements. First, he sketches the rel tion of the Church to the world, then the peculiarities of the early Christian life, then the struggle against heresy, then Church u sages, then Christian literature and the style of preaching; and lastly he depicts the conversion of the various western nations and the origin of the great national Churches—the French, the German, and the Anglo-Saxon. It is certainly a good sign that German prelates prepare such lectures, and that the German pub lic flock to hear them.

Alcuin und Sein Jahrhundert. Von Dr. Karl Werner. Paderborn, 1876. S Schöningh.

Thanks to the patient scholar who delves in the archiv past, and restores to us animate pictures of buried centuries. Dr Werner has done the public a good service. His theme is a ver attractive one: the Age of Alcuin is the Age of Charlemagne. W have carefully read the book. It is a good one. It shows us th great Ruler and the humble Priest joining hands to save E rope from the impending night of savagery and ignorance. We are let into their innermost thoughts, their little foibles and th great and good aims. We read their most private letters. We see their sincere concern for the Church of God. Rescued as th Church was, it was about the only bulwark of God among It, or nothing, could save the nations against the steep clouds of blackness which threatened from every horizon. Ho the great Karl tried to aid applying his efforts to fresh life! Ho the patient, laborious priest toiled to arouse the clergy to a se a sense of their sacred duties! We have only commendation fo this work of Karl Werner.

Miscellaneous.

English Synonyms Explained in Alphabetical Order. With Copious Illustrations and Examples drawn from the Best Writers. To which is now added an Index to the Words. By GEORGE CRABB, A.M. 8vo., pp. 856. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

A republication of an old standard work.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS. Edited by JOHN MORLEY.—*Daniel Defoe.* By WILLIAM MINTO. 12mo., pp. 167.—*Oliver Goldsmith.* By WILLIAM BLACK. 12mo., pp. 152.—*Samuel Johnson:* His Words and His Ways. Edited by E. T. Mason. 12mo., pp. 319. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1876. 8vo., pp. 942. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1878.

A Selection of Spiritual Songs, with Music for the Church and the Choir. Selected and arranged by Rev. CHARLES S. ROBINSON, D.D. 8vo., pp. 441. New York: Scribner & Co.

Coronation Hymns and Songs: For Praise and Prayer-meetings, Home and Social Singing. CHARLES F. DEEMS, D.D., LL.D., and THEODORE E. PERKINS, Editors. Pp. 148. New York; Chicago and New Orleans: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1878.

Voices from Babylon; or, The Records of Daniel the Prophet. By JOSEPH A. LEWIS, D.D. 12mo., pp. 391. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

A scholarly and eloquent work, maintaining the authenticity of Daniel, furnishing an exposition of his visions, and favoring premillennial conclusions.

Jesus of Nazareth. By Rev. WILLIAM PATTON, D.D. 16mo., pp. 320. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

Evangelical Rationalism; or, A Consideration of Truths Practically Related to Man's Probation. By LOREN L. KNOX, D.D. 16mo., pp. 250. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

Dr. Knox is a clear and reflective thinker, striking out his own paths of thought. His unpretending volume is worthy the perusal of Christian inquirers.

An Introduction to the Greek of the New Testament. By GEORGE L. CARY. 12mo., pp. 66. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1879.

A very convenient manual for students who do not intend a classical course, but desire an initiation into New Testament Greek.

Camp-meetings: Their Origin, History, and Utility. Also, Their Perversion, and How to Correct It. Embracing a Careful Review of the Sabbath Question. By S. C. SWALLOW. 16mo., pp. 68. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

What shall I Read? A Confidential Chat on Books. 16mo., pp. 186. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Live Boy; or, Charley's Letters. By EDWIN A. JOHNSON, D.D. 16mo., pp. 224. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1878.

The Thirty Years' War. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 211. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

Wells of Baca; or, Solaces of the Christian Mourner, and Other Thoughts on Bereavement. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 24mo., pp. 119. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The Berean Question Book. (International Series.) For 1879. Square 16mo., pp. 132. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Stories from Herodotus and the Seventh Book of the History. With English Notes. By Robert P. Keep, Ph.D. 16mo., pp. 338. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum, de Divinatione, de Fato. Recognovit Reinholdus Klotz. 18mo., pp. 270. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Shakspeare's Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet. Edited, with Notes, by William J. Rolfe, A. M. With Engravings. Square 16mo., pp. 222. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

A Brief Sketch of the Efforts of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, to Promote the Civilization and Improvement of the Indians, etc. In paper, 8vo., pp. 56. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store. 1879.

Eleventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1878. Pp. 64.

The Methodist Almanac. 1879. Edited by W. H. De Puy, D.D. 16mo., pp. 64. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Memorial Days of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. Pp. 48. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1878.

Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver; or, The General Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, etc. By Rev. C. W. Millen. 16mo., pp. 36. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Proceedings of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, at the Annual Meeting, Jan. 1, 1879. In paper, 8vo., pp. 45. Boston: The Society's House.

The Expositor. March, 1879. Edited by the Rev. Samuel Cox. Contents: 1. The Letter and the Spirit; by Rev. R. E. Bartlett, M. A. 2. Studies in the Life of Christ: XII—The Later Miracles; by Rev. Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D. 3. Various Readings in the Epistle to the Romans; by Rev. Canon Farrar, D.D. 4. The Atonement—An Illustration. By S. E. C. T. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Lectures on Astronomy and Kindred Subjects. Based on the Eclectic Theory, etc. By B. T. Kavanaugh, M.D., D.D. In paper, 8vo., pp. 63. Cincinnati: Printed by Hitchcock & Walden for the Author. 1878.

Vick's Illustrated Monthly Magazine. Feb., 1879. Rochester, N. Y.

Captain Nelson. A Romance of Colonial Days. By Samuel Adams Drake. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

Harper's Half-Hour Series, 32mo. *English Literature Primers: Modern Period.* By Eugene Lawrence.—*Modern France.* By George M. Towle.—*A Primer of Spanish Literature.* By Helen S. Conant.—*The Poems of Oliver Goldsmith. She Stoops to Conquer, and The Good-Natured Man,* Comedies. By Oliver Goldsmith.—*The Vicar of Wakefield.* By Oliver Goldsmith.—*The Adventures of Ulysses.* By Charles Lamb.—*Afghanistan.* By A. G. Constable.—*Sir Roger de Coverly.* From *The Spectator.* With Notes by W. Henry Wills.—*John;* or, Our Chinese Relations. By Thomas W. Knox.—*The Awakening.* By Katharine S. Macquoid. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Franklin Square Library: *Through Asiatic Turkey,* etc. By Grattan Geary.—*Journal of the Plague in London.* By Daniel Defoe.—*The Irish Bar,* etc. By J. Roderick O'Flanagan.—*Within Sound of the Sea.* By the Author of "Isentle."—*All or Nothing.* By Mrs. F. Cashel Hoey.—*Vixen.* By Miss M. E. Braddon.—*A True Marriage.* By Emily Spender.—*Man and Wife.* By Wilkie Collins.—*The Bubble Reputation.* By Katherine King.—*The Grahams of Invermoy.* By M. C. Stirling.—*Auld Lang Syne.* By the Author of "The Wreck of the Grosvenor."—*The Last of her Line.* By the Author of "St. Olave's," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers.

1 4581